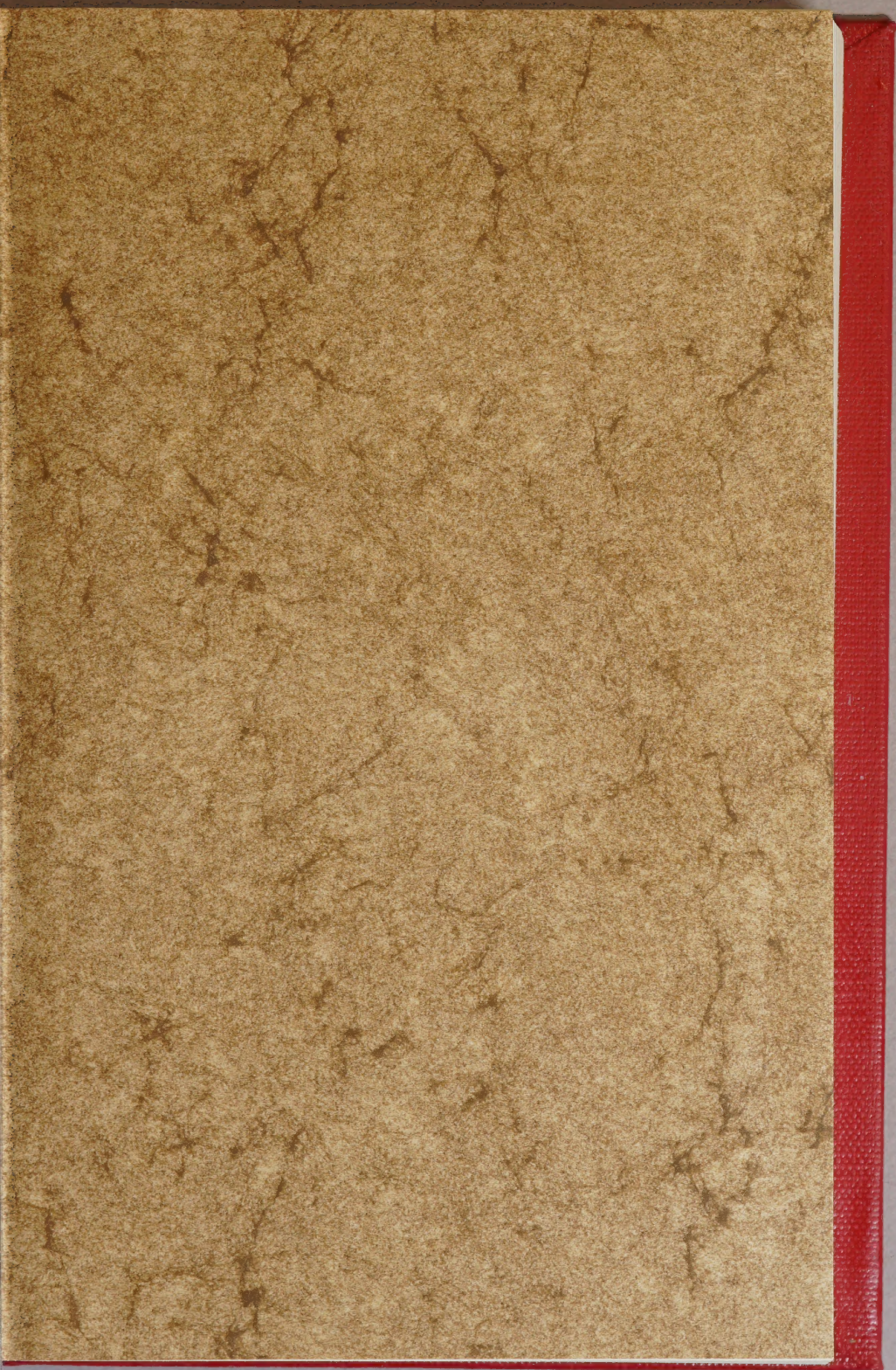
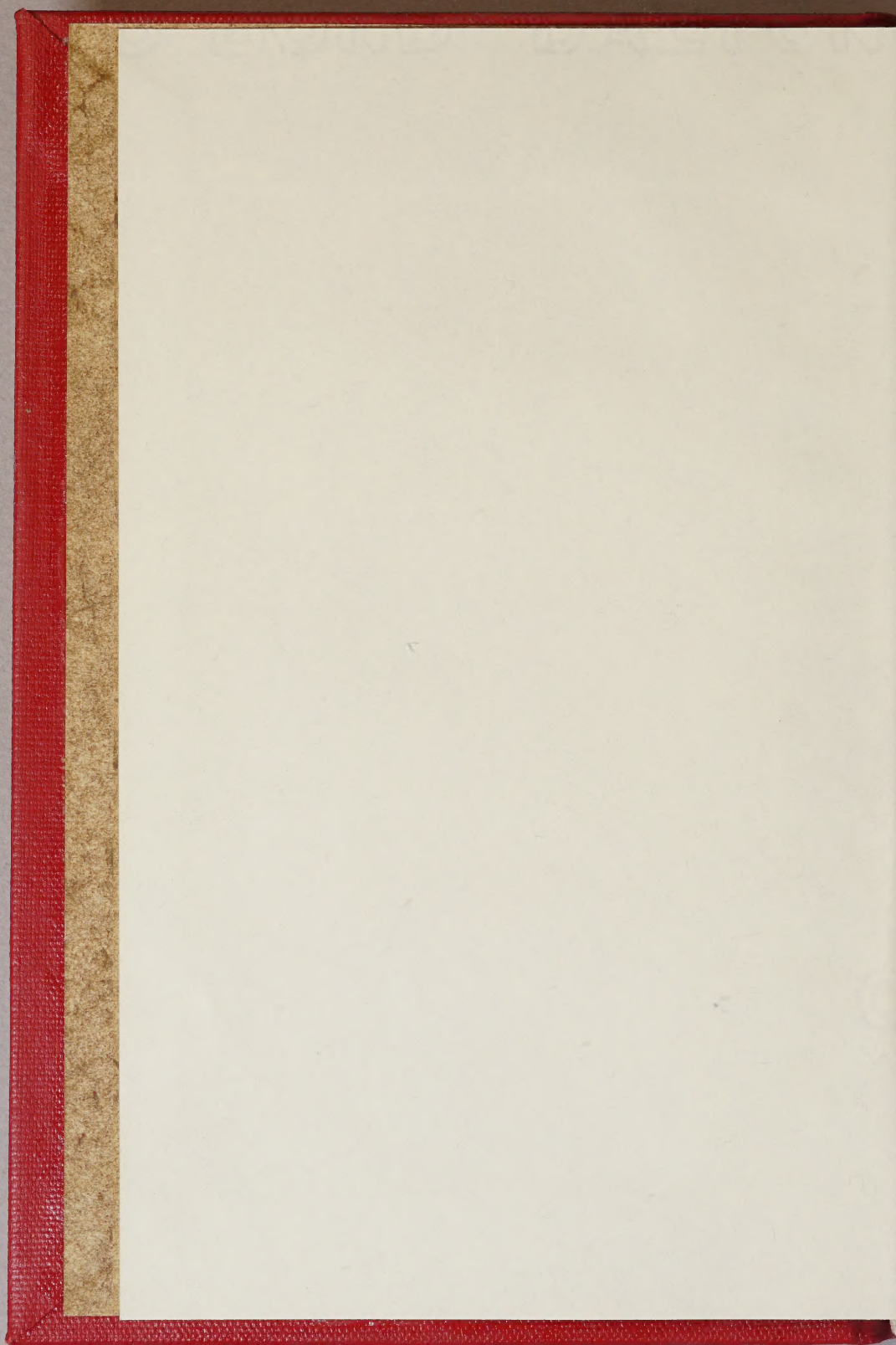




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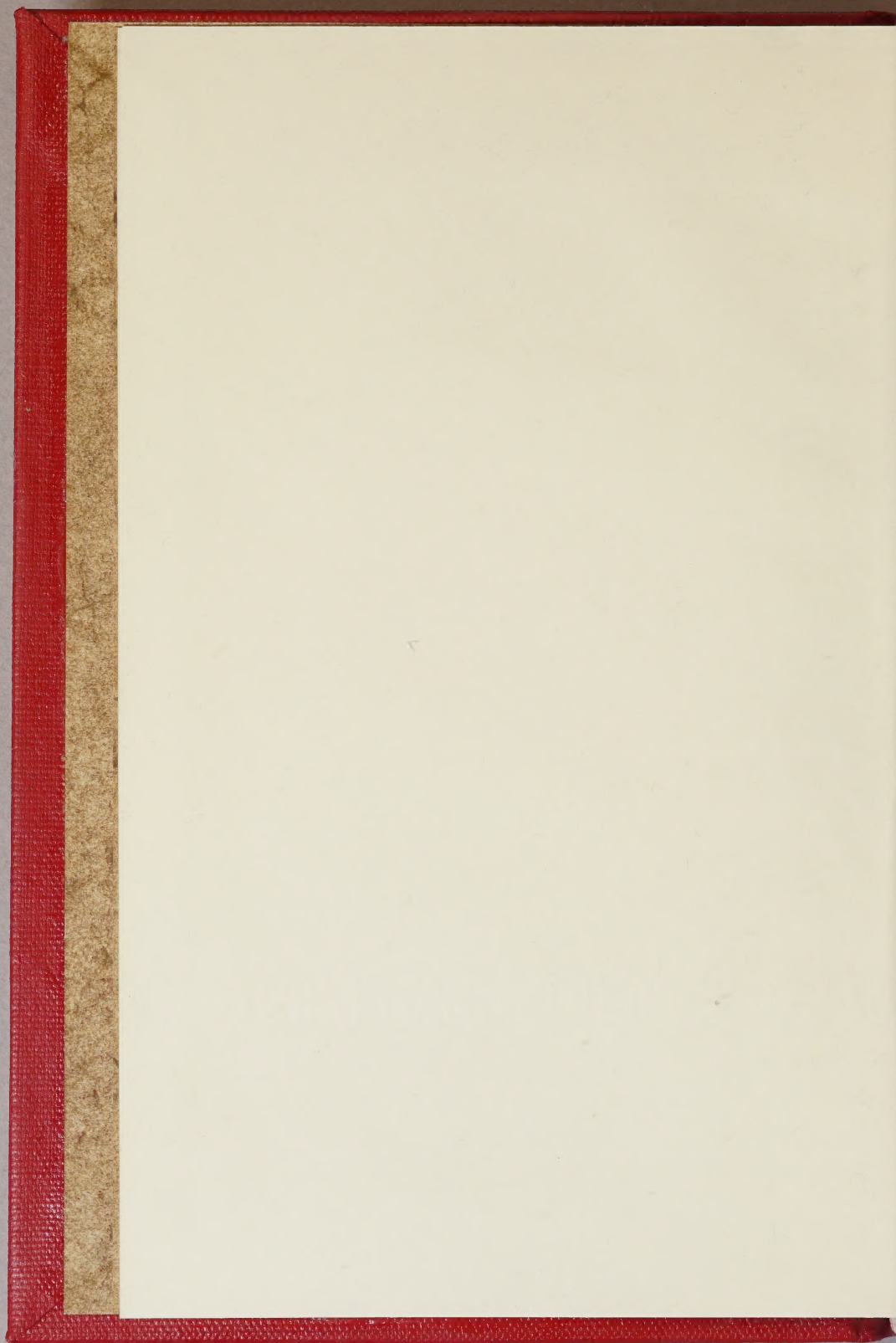


Informal Exhibition Catalogues
from the John Carter Brown Library
1984 - 1987

John Carter Brown Library

Providence, Rhode Island

1987



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1987

Five copies of these assembled exhibition catalogues were bound up in in 1987, for internal use at the Library. The index was prepared by Dagmar Schaeffer, a Brown University graduate student working at the Library.

Contents

1. *Americana, Science, Art, and Politics: The Worlds of John Russell Bartlett.* (Sept. 15 - Dec. 15, 1985)
Prep. by John D. Haskell, Jr.
2. *Christmas in the Colonies: Paganism or Piety?*
An Exhibition for the Holiday Season.
Prep. by the Staff of the John Carter Brown Library.
3. *Gathering a Scattered Fleet: The Legacy of Richard Hakluyt.* (Oct. 16 - 19, 1986)
Prep. by Susan L. Danforth.
4. *The Great Polyglot Bibles: The Impact of Printing on Religion in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries.* (1985)
Prep. by Robert Mathiesen.
5. *Liberty of Conscience and the Growth of Religious Diversity in Early America, 1636 - 1786.* (May 2, 1986)
Prep. by Carla Gardina Pestana.
6. *Shipwrecks, Sea-Monsters, Sailors, and Scurvy.* (Oct. 5 - Dec. 11, 1987)
Prep. by A. F. Gunther Buchheim, Ilse E. Kramer, Dennis C. Landis.
7. *A View of America.* (May, 1984)
Prep. by Susan L. Danforth.

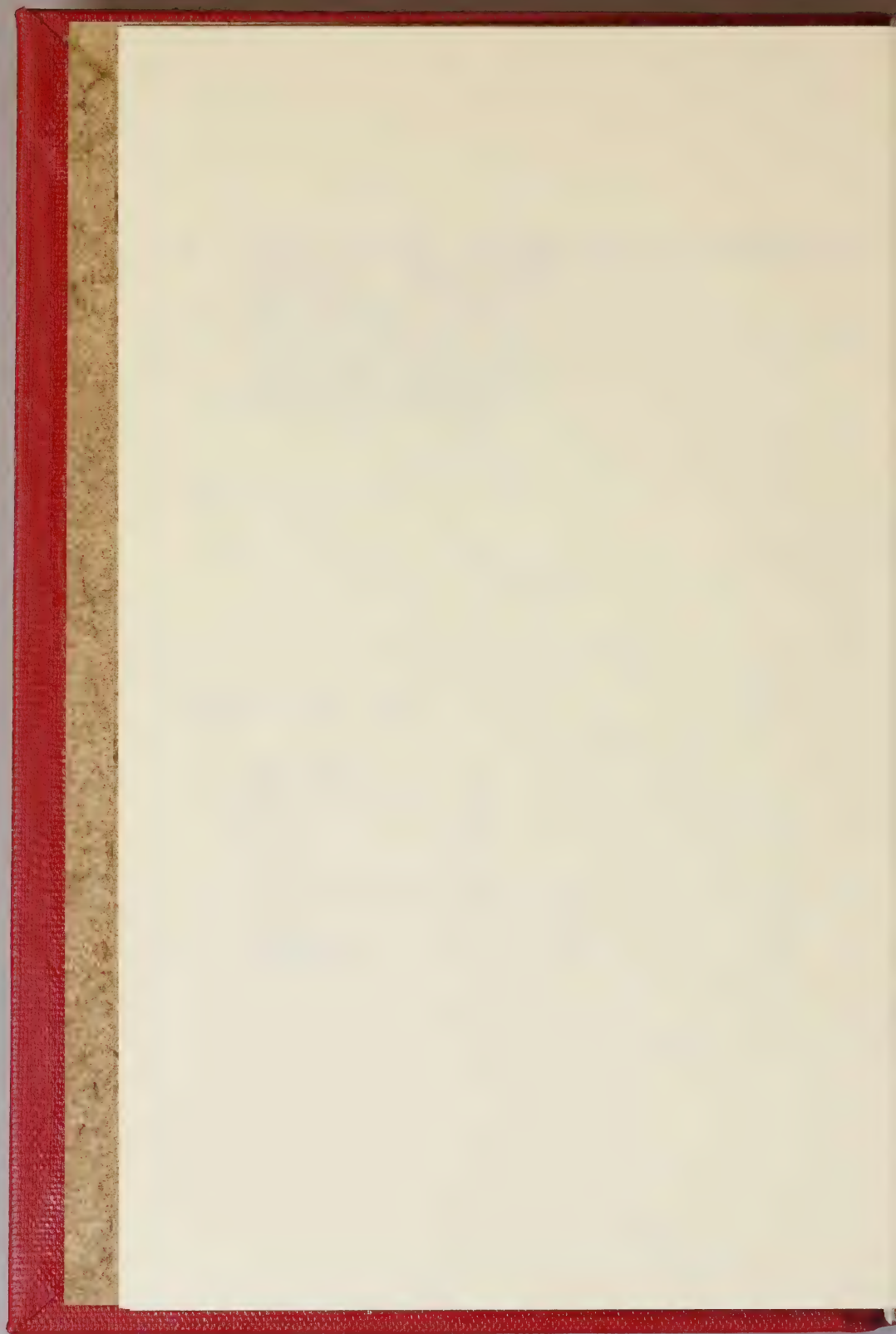
8. *Waves in the Lake: Challenges to Spanish Authority in the Caribbean.* (May 3, 1985)
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9. *Women and a Wild New World.*
 (Jan. 15 - Apr. 30, 1986)
 Prep. by Ilse E. Kramer.

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**Americana,
Science, Art, and Politics:
The Worlds of
John Russell Bartlett**



Americana, Science, Art, and Politics:

The Worlds of John Russell Bartlett

An exhibition at the

John Carter Brown Library

September 15 - December 15, 1985

Exhibition and Catalogue

by John D. Haskell, Jr.



Bartlett

John Russell Bartlett (1805-1886) spent his life engaged in activities with a common theme, namely, recording the past and the present for future generations. He believed strongly that he had to save part of his world because few others were doing so, especially in Rhode Island. His drawings of the Southwest record the vanishing frontier of the mid-nineteenth century, and his notes of Indian vocabularies preserve the words spoken by vanishing tribes. Indeed, in the *Dictionary of Americanisms*, Bartlett attempted to record the daily speech of all Americans. Fear that the state archives might not survive, as well as his belief that Rhode Island played an important part in the development of America as a nation, undoubtedly motivated him to publish the state's early documents. On canvas, he captured scenes of his native state and preserved likenesses of the governors that had been painted by others. It could be said that as librarian to John Carter Brown, John Russell Bartlett was engaged in saving important sources for the study of the early history of the entire Western Hemisphere. In all of these endeavors he was not merely an accumulator. He recognized the "right stuff" of history and made sure that it survived.

John D. Haskell, Jr.
Williamsburg, Virginia
12 August, 1985

Bartlett

JOHN RUSSELL BARTLETT (1805-1886)

- 1805 Born in Providence, Rhode Island.
- 1807 Moves to Kingston, Ontario where his
 father establishes a dry goods business.
- 1819-1821 Student at Lowville Academy,
 Lowville, New York.
- 1824 Returns to Providence to work in his
 uncle's dry goods store on
 Westminster Street.
- 1831 Marries Eliza Allen Rhodes.
 Elected to membership in the Rhode Island
 Historical Society.
 Appointed Cashier of the Globe Bank in
 Providence.
- 1832 Secretary of the Providence Exploring
 Company, which sponsored an expedition
 to Africa.
- 1836 Moves to New York City and is employed by
 Jesup, Swift and Company, commission
 merchants.
- 1840 Establishes Bartlett and Welford,
 booksellers and publishers, in the Astor
 House on lower Broadway.
- 1842 Holds initial meeting of the American
 Ethnological Society at his home.
- 1845 Becomes acquainted with John Carter
 Brown.

Bartlett

- 1847 *Progress of Ethnology* is published.
- 1848 First edition of *Dictionary of Americanisms*
 is published.
- 1849 Withdraws from firm of Bartlett and
 Welford. Seeks position of charge
 d'affaires to Denmark, but is
 unsuccessful.
- 1850-1852 United States-Mexican Boundary
 Commissioner.
- 1853 Returns to Rhode Island.
- 1854 *Personal Narrative of Explorations and
 Incidents in Texas, New Mexico,
 California, Sonora and Chihuahua*
 is published.
- 1855-1872 Secretary of State of Rhode Island.
- 1856 First of the ten-volume *Records of the
 Colony of Rhode Island and Providence
 Plantations in New England*
 is published.
- 1863 Marries Ellen Eddy.
 Barbarities of the Rebels appears
 pseudonymously.
- 1864 *Bibliography of Rhode Island* is published.
- 1865-1871 *Bibliotheca Americana*, the first catalogue of
 John Carter Brown's collection,
 is published.
- 1866 *Literature of the Rebellion* is published.

Bartlett

- 1867 *Memoirs of Rhode Island Officers* is published.
Spends four months travelling in Europe.
- 1875-1882 *Bibliotheca Americana, A Catalogue of Books Relating to North and South America in the Library of the Late John Carter Brown of Providence, R.I.* is published.
- 1883 *Catalogue of the Library of the Late Joseph J. Cooke of Providence, Rhode Island* is published. An Americana auction held in New York City.
- 1884 *Catalogue of the Magnificent Library of the Late Hon. Henry C. Murphy, of Brooklyn* is published.
Another Americana auction held in New York City.
- 1886 Dies at his home in Providence. Interred at Swan Point Cemetery.

Bartlett

1. [John Russell Bartlett. "Autobiographical Memoir" Providence 1871?]

Written when Bartlett was about 66 years old, this notebook is a rich source of information--details of his boyhood in Kingston, Ontario, his activities in Providence (1824-1836), his New York years (1836-1849), the Southwest years (1850-1852), and his return to Rhode Island. He includes a brief list of his writings and recollections of his trips to Europe in 1867 and 1872. A particularly vivid account of an experience in Paris during the 1867 trip describes Bartlett's first visit "to the Turkish Cafe, an elegant building erected at the expense of the Viceroy of Egypt, where everything was in the oriental style. Upon entering, a Turk conducted me to a divan and soon after brought me a cup of delicious coffee followed by a chibouque or Turkish pipe. I threw myself on the lounge and took a few whiffs through the pipe, and found it a great luxury."

2. John Russell Bartlett, Lowville, New York [1819]. Crayon sketch.

Bartlett notes on the verso that this was drawn by a German artist with whom he studied crayon drawing as a fourteen-year-old student at the Lowville Academy.

The Early Years

During the period 1824 to 1838, Bartlett lived in Providence. He worked successively as a dry goods clerk and as a bank cashier and was an active member of the Providence Athenaeum, then located in the Arcade. In the

Bartlett

basement of the present Athenaeum on Benefit Street is a table in the shape of an Egyptian temple that was built and decorated by Bartlett and Kingsley C. Gladding to house the *Musée Française*, a work on Egypt, and Audubon's *Birds of America*.

In 1832, Bartlett was serving as Secretary of the Providence Exploring Company, an organization that sponsored an expedition to explore the Niger River in Africa. Although he was one-tenth owner of the Company's vessel, the brig *Agenoria*, he was not a member of the expeditionary party.

In 1834, he was a member of the Providence Franklin Society, an early lyceum.

3. Carl Christian Rafn. *Antiquitates Americanae sive Scriptores Septentrionales Rerum Ante-Columbinarum in America*. Hafniae: Typis Officinae Schultziaanae, 1837.

On the afternoon of September 4, 1834, Bartlett waded into the Taunton River in Massachusetts and executed a drawing that was subsequently engraved by P. Scholer, reproduced here. Bartlett, along with Thomas H. Webb and Albert G. Greene, comprised the Committee on the Antiquities and Aboriginal History of America, established by the Rhode Island Historical Society the previous year to provide information to the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries of Copenhagen regarding Dighton Rock. The Danes were attempting to prove that America was discovered by Scandinavians in the tenth century.

In 1872, Bartlett stated that he always believed that the inscriptions were made by North American Indians, and in 1877, officials of the Royal Society

Bartlett

agreed with him. In 1928, Edmund B. Delabarre, in his *Dighton Rock*, showed that "Rafn added a number of conjectural lines of the most essential importance for the interpretation of the inscription that he advocated."

4. Providence Athenaeum. *Reports Presented and Read at the Third Annual Meeting of the Providence Athenaeum, September 24, 1838.* Providence: Knowles, Vose & Co., 1838.

By this time, Bartlett, who was one of the founders of the Athenaeum, had been living in New York for two years. Although employed in the Pine Street dry goods commission house of Jesup, Swift, and Company, he found time to purchase books for several institutions, including the Providence Athenaeum.

"Besides purchasing the most recent publications, as they are issued from our own press in various parts of the country, they, [the board of directors] in the month of February last, placed at the disposal of the Library Committee, the sum of \$300, for the purchase of books at auction, in the city of New York; and, by the aid of our judicious friend and agent, John R. Bartlett, Esq., of that city, secured some exceedingly valuable standard works, at remarkably low prices. Among these may be mentioned the entire *Philosophical Transactions* of the Royal Society of London, in 53 vols. 4to., Buffon's *Natural History* in French, in 30 vols. 4to., full bound in calf, with plates; Horace Walpole's *Noble and Royal Authors*, in 5 vols. Royal 8 vo., with portraits, &c."

Courtesy of the Providence Athenaeum.

Bartlett

Bartlett and Welford

From 1840 to 1852, Bartlett was in partnership with Charles Welford in the firm of Bartlett and Welford, booksellers and publishers. Located in New York on lower Broadway, it was a popular gathering place for the literati of the day including Poe, Irving, Cooper, and Fitzgreen Halleck. While the firm specialized in Americana, their regular advertisements in the *Literary World* reveal that they dealt in a wide variety of subject matter. As publishers they also exhibited eclectic interests ranging from Cornelius Mathews' *The Politicians: A Comedy in Five Acts* (1840) and Clement C. Moore's *Poems* (1844) to Frederick Catherwood's sumptuous *Views of Ancient Monuments in Central America, Chiapas, and Yucatan* (see no. 12) also published in 1844.

The firm experienced serious financial difficulties in 1846, but recovered. In 1849, Bartlett withdrew from the firm because the business would not support two families. In 1852, the stock of the shop was sold at auction by Bangs Brothers & Company on Park Row. Welford, later a partner in Scribner and Welford, died in his native London in 1885.

5. H.R. Robinson, *Kipp & Brown's Stage as it Appear'd in Passing the Astor House on the 16th Day of June 1845*. Photographs of a lithograph.

Bartlett and Welford's book store was located on the ground floor of a famed Broadway hotel, the Astor House. In enlarged detail, the Bartlett and Welford sign can be seen just above the reins held by the driver.

Bartlett

The original is in the New-York Historical Society, New York City.

6. *Catalogue of a Select Collection of Rare and Curious Old Books...Now For Sale...By Bartlett & Welford Booksellers & Importers, at their Antiquarian Bookstore and Repository for Standard Literature...* New York: Printed by Robert Craighead, 1840.

The only recorded copy of Bartlett and Welford's first catalogue. In announcing the commencement of their business, they refer to their "thorough knowledge of the domestic and foreign book market" and state that "it will give them great pleasure to receive a call from Ministers, Literary Gentlemen, and Strangers, visiting New York, part of their store being fitted up as a commodious Reading Room, affording every facility for the examination of the numerous valuable works now for sale by them."

Courtesy of Miami University, Oxford, Ohio.

7. Letter. Bartlett and Welford to Alexis Caswell, July 12, 1841.

Brown University was one of the firm's institutional customers. Caswell was Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy and later (1868-1872) President of Brown. B & W inquires here whether the library of the Philermenian Society wishes to acquire Courtenay's *Life and Times of Sir William Temple* (1838). An examination of three catalogues of the Philermenian Society library from the 1840s

Bartlett

reveals that the offer apparently was not accepted.

Courtesy of the Brown University Archives.

8. Letter. Peter Force to Bartlett and Welford, December 4, 1844.

Peter Force was a collector of books and manuscripts relating to American history and one of Bartlett and Welford's first customers. His collection was purchased by the Library of Congress in 1867 for \$100,000.

Bartlett and Welford served as an agent for the distribution of Force's four-volume *Tracts and Other Papers Relating Principally to the Origin, Settlement, and Progress of the Colonies in North America...*, published in Washington between 1836 and 1846. Bartlett and Welford purchased 15 copies of the third volume at \$2.00 per copy and sold them for \$2.50.

9. Letter. Arthur Cleveland Coxe to John Russell Bartlett, February 20, 1846.

Coxe, the rector of St. John's Church, Hartford, Connecticut, is apparently very annoyed at having received for the second time an imperfect copy. A friend who also bought a copy of the same title at the shop in the Astor House found his "equally deranged."

10. Invoice. Bartlett and Welford to George Perkins Marsh, August 28, 1849.

While no business records of Bartlett and Welford have survived, one can glean information about the

Bartlett

firm from invoices sent to customers. This one from the Marsh Papers (Marsh was a Congressman from Vermont and a major Bartlett and Welford customer) reveals that Horace H. Moore, who receipted the invoice, was an employee. Another invoice in the same collection shows that Moore was on the staff as early as 1846. That Sylvanus Miller, Jr. was an employee in 1844 can be determined from an invoice in the Duyckinck Family Papers in the New York Public Library.

Courtesy of the University of Vermont Library.

11. Letter. George Ticknor to Bartlett and Welford, November 17, 1846.

At this time, Ticknor was engaged in writing his *History of Spanish Literature*. The works requested by Ticknor as "1006 Jean de Luna 1670 12mo" and "1016 The Pilgrim and Diana 1738 12mo" are de Luna's *Castillian History of Lazarillo de Tormes* (London 1670) and *The Pilgrim and Diana* (London 1738) by Lopez de Vega Carpio and George de Montemeyor. The "sale [at] 304 Broadway [on] November 30" was the library of Judge Gabriel Furman which was auctioned by Royal Gurley & Co. A priced and named copy of the Furman sale catalog at the American Antiquarian Society reveals that the two volumes sold for \$1.25 and \$2.50 respectively to a party named Grant. Either Ticknor was unsuccessful or Grant was executing bids for Bartlett and Welford.

Bartlett

Selected Bartlett and Welford Imprints

12. Frederick Catherwood. *Views of Ancient Monuments in Central America, Chiapas, and Yucatan.* New York: Barlett [sic] and Welford, 1844.

13. John Graves Simcoe. *Simcoe's Military Journal.* New York: Bartlett and Welford, 1844.

14. Henry Rowe Schoolcraft. *Notes on the Iroquois.* New York: Bartlett and Welford, 1846.

15. Adriaen van der Donck. *The Representation of New Netherland.* New York: Bartlett & Welford, 1849.

New York Years

In addition to the book business, Bartlett kept busy with many other activities. He was a founding member of the American Ethnological Society (1842) and active in the affairs of the New-York Historical Society, before which he presented several papers. He also dabbled in spiritualism, as noted by the diarist, George Templeton Strong. Among his political friends were Albert Gallatin and George Perkins Marsh, the Vermont Congressman.

16. Albert Gallatin. *Peace With Mexico,* New York: Bartlett & Welford, 1847.

Bartlett

Although Gallatin is best remembered for his service as Secretary of the Treasury under Presidents Jefferson and Madison (1801-1814), he was still actively writing as an octogenarian. In this pamphlet, he argued that the Mexican War was not *only* unnecessary but also unjustified. Bartlett published this work from Gallatin's dictation. Inserted in Bartlett's copy, shown here, is a memorandum explaining the origin of the work as well as correspondence between them relating to its publication and distribution. William B. Astor, son of John Jacob Astor, paid for the printing of 5,000 copies "in order that they might be distributed gratuitously in those parts of the country where light was wanted on the question."

Courtesy of the Rhode Island Historical Society.

17. Letter. Jared Sparks to John Russell Bartlett, January 13, 1846. Accompanied by the calling card of Francis Parkman.

During the New York years, Bartlett was active in a variety of scholarly and historical activities and was known in academic circles. Sparks, a historian at Harvard, writes a letter of introduction for a "young friend" who is "engaged in making inquiries into certain parts of American history, and desires to consult you on the subject of his researches." It was twenty-two-year-old Francis Parkman who presented this letter and card to John Russell Bartlett.

18. John Russell Bartlett. *Dictionary of Americanisms*. New York: Bartlett and Welford, 1848. Bartlett's copy.

Bartlett

In preparing this dictionary, Bartlett was a successor to John Pickering and a predecessor of H. L. Mencken. By 1877, the fourth edition had appeared and the work had been translated into Dutch and German. Although it caused consternation among some reviewers, Bartlett included many colloquialisms and provincialisms. Richard Grant White, writing in *The Galaxy*, called it "a very misleading and untrustworthy book." Mencken, however, remarked that its appearance marked the first time that "American English found an anatomist willing to take it for what it was, without regard for what Englishmen or Anglomaniacs thought it ought to be."

The Southwest

In 1849, Bartlett was an unsuccessful candidate for the position of charge d'affaires to Denmark. The following year, as a result of the presence in Washington of Rhode Island Senator John H. Clarke, Peter Force, and Charles C. Jewett, Librarian of the Smithsonian and former Librarian of Brown, he was appointed Mexican Boundary Commissioner. The chances of his being appointed were undoubtedly enhanced by the fact that Mrs. Bartlett's brother-in-law, Henry B. Anthony, was the Governor of Rhode Island.

The twenty-nine months that Bartlett spent in the Southwest were marked by difficulties. Dissension was commonplace among the military engineers who were surveying the line. In addition, Bartlett and his Mexican counterpart, Pedro Garcia Conde, discovered two errors on the map they were required to use under the terms of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. The agreement reached by Bartlett and Conde regarding the location of the boundary caused a brouhaha in Washington, and Bartlett was charged

Bartlett

with relinquishing to Mexico the only practicable route for a transcontinental railroad to the west coast. By August, 1852, the Senate resolved that Bartlett had not followed the terms of the treaty and in February, 1853, he was dismissed for mismanagement of funds, mishandling of supplies, incompetence, and inattention to duty. Clearly, the bank clerk and bookseller was not well suited to supervising an expedition party numbering more than two hundred.

Bartlett had also spent much of his time executing drawings of the landscape and recording Indian vocabularies. As an artist and ethnologist, he made a contribution, but as a political appointee, he was a failure.

19. A[ugustus] de Vaudricourt. John Russell Bartlett. El Paso, December 1850. Pencil sketch.

Vaudricourt, a French-born lithographer and an art and piano teacher, was one of several artists attached to the Mexican Boundary Survey. Despite the extreme heat in the region, forty-five-year-old Commissioner Bartlett retained his formal attire. Mistakenly dated by JRB as 1851.

20. Letter. Eliza Bartlett to John Russell Bartlett, January 13, 1851.

Bartlett had learned earlier of the death of his daughter Leila on October 2nd, 1850. Eliza, however, could not bring herself to write to her husband until the following January. When she finally did write, it was a twenty-page letter.

"Many have been the attempts to write and many a sheet has been blotted out with my tears....It is now more than three months since our dear angelic

Bartlett

child was called from our midst. O how well can I realize the agony of a father's fond heart when the painful intelligence is first communicated so far distant from all friends...."

21. Letter. John Russell Bartlett to Samuel Foster Haven, March 12, 1857.

Bartlett spent much of his time in the Southwest recording Indian vocabularies. Here he describes in detail how this was accomplished. "During my journeys connected with the U.S. Boundary Commission, I took particular pains to collect vocabularies of the Indian languages, which vocabularies consist of 200 words each, embracing all those included in Mr. Gallatin's essay published by the American Antiquarian Soc. I took down most of these myself, with great, and I may add, extreme care, requiring generally, several interviews with the natives. When finished, I verified every word by reading them in the Indian language and requiring the Indians to give the equivalent in Spanish. When they recognized the word, and said it was rightly pronounced, I was satisfied that it was correct.

I think I have about 25 vocabularies of tribes in Texas, New Mexico, California, Sonora and Chihuahua. I have besides made arrangements to procure those of the tribes of Lower California, through a correspondent in Guaymas (who has blanks for the purpose) and also vocabularies of the Indian tribes of Yutah."

Courtesy of the American Antiquarian Society.

Bartlett

22. Vocabulary of the Kechi Indians. May 10, 1852. Printed form completed in the hand of John Russell Bartlett. Photograph.

The forms on which Bartlett recorded the Indian vocabularies are preserved in the Smithsonian Institution. Some of these were subsequently published or referred to by scholars. The vocabularies of the Maricopa, Diegueno and Cochimi languages appeared in Albert Samuel Gatschet. "Der Yuma-Sprachtsamm," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 9 (1877), 390-407, and Johann E. C. Buschmann referred to Bartlett's description of the Diegueno Indians in his *Die Spuren der aztekischen Sprache in nordlichen Mexico und höheren amerikanischen Norden*. Berlin, 1859.

Original in the National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution.

23. John Russell Bartlett. *Personal Narrative of Explorations and Incidents in Texas, New Mexico, California, Sonora, and Chihuahua, Connected with the United States and Mexican Boundary Commission during the Years 1850,'51,'52, and '53*. 2 volumes. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1854.

Bartlett wrote his narrative between June and October 1853 while visiting with his wife and family at his father's home in Cape Vincent, New York. He had hoped that the work would be published by the government, but a resolution introduced in the Senate was never acted upon. It was widely reviewed in this country and abroad. *The Churchman*, a New York newspaper, called it "one of the most pains-taking and reliable contributions to geography and ethnology...since the days of Lewis and Clark...."

Bartlett

Alfred Maury, writing in the *Bulletin* of the Société de Géographie of Paris said that: "Cette singuliere vie du voyageur et de pionnier americain a tout l'interet d'un roman." Twentieth-century historians have also commented on it. Odie B. Faulk called it "a high point in Southwestern literature." William Goetzmann said: "Within its pages is contained a panoramic view of the way of life of an entire region previously known only to a few. It was to be of little use to scientists, but for many a hammock reader at Saratoga or Newport, it opened up an exciting America and helped create an image of the exotic West."

24. Letter. John Russell Bartlett to John Carter Brown, March 19, 1866.

Although the *Personal Narrative* was published in 1854, Bartlett did not present a copy to John Carter Brown until 12 years later.

25. Robert V. Hine. *Bartlett's West: Drawing the Mexican Boundary*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1968.

This detailed account of Bartlett's years in the Southwest reproduces twenty-nine of his landscapes. Included as well are drawings by Henry C. Pratt, Seth Eastman, Oscar Bessau, Harrison Eastman, and Henry B. Brown, artists who traveled with or worked for Bartlett. These illustrations were selected from a collection of more than two hundred drawings and watercolors in the John Carter Brown Library. Many are reproduced in Bartlett's *Personal Narrative* (see no. 23).

Bartlett

26. John Russell Bartlett. La Punta de Sauz. Pencil Sketch.

27. John Russell Bartlett. Prairie on Fire -- From the Rio Grande to Corpus Christi, Texas. Pencil and sepia wash.

28. John Russell Bartlett. Organ Mountains, New Mexico. Pencil and sepia wash.

The Organ Mountains are in southern New Mexico just east of Las Cruces.

29. John Russell Bartlett. Acapulco. Pencil Sketch.

30. John Russell Bartlett. Guadalupe Mountain, Texas. Pencil and sepia wash.

The highest point in Texas.

31. John Russell Bartlett. Mission of San Jose, Texas. Pen and ink sketch.

32. John Russell Bartlett. [Map of the Gila River from Rio San Pedro to the Colorado River Showing the Route of the Bartlett Expedition November 5-24, 1852. Inset Map of River Salina, Gila and Indian Trail]. Pencil sketch.

33. John Russell Bartlett. Quicksilver Furnaces, New Almaden, California. Pencil and sepia wash.

Bartlett

New Almaden is thirteen miles south of San Jose in Santa Clara County.

34. John Russell Bartlett. [Flowering Cactus] Watercolor.

35. Letter. Sophia Augusta Brown to John Russell Bartlett. October 19, 1880.

John Carter Brown's widow writes from Newport: "I will gratefully accept your kind offer to give our library your Manuscripts regarding the U.S. & Mexican boundary. When I return to Prov: we will talk over the matter fully." The talk was apparently successful as the papers are now at the John Carter Brown Library.

36. John Russell Bartlett. Photograph by Frank Rowell, Providence [1861 or 1862].

Bartlett and the Brown Family

Bartlett served the Brown family as their librarian for more than forty years. During the 1840s John Carter Brown was a Bartlett and Welford customer. Upon Bartlett's return from the Southwest they renewed their acquaintance, and Bartlett worked closely with Mr. Brown in assisting him to build his collection until the latter's death in 1874. Fortunately, Mr. Brown's widow and her two sons John Nicholas Brown (1863-1900) and Harold Brown (1865-1900) were interested in continuing to add to the collection. Bartlett became a friend and mentor to John Nicholas Brown. Since the various members of the Brown

Bartlett

family were often travelling abroad, Bartlett was expected to look after all aspects of the library--acquiring books from dealers or at auction, showing the library to other Americana collectors, preparing printed catalogues of the collection, and paying invoices.

37. Letter. John Carter Brown to John Russell Bartlett, May 31, 1849.

While it is generally agreed that John Carter Brown can be considered a major collector of Americana by 1845, his remarks here reveal that he began collecting as early as 1824.

"...tis curious what a rage there seems to be about every book or tract relating to every part of the American continent & also all the early voyages to the New World.

It is quite well therefore that I began my collection five and twenty-years ago--otherwise it might not be so easy to gather together so large a lot."

38. Letter. John Carter Brown to John Russell Bartlett, May 28, 1849.

Although Bartlett had been selling books to Mr. Brown for nearly four years, he apparently had never seen Mr. Brown's collection: "I shall be glad to see you in Rhode Island & have you examine all & everything in my Bib[liotheca] Amer[icana]. No doubt a critics eye will detect many imperfections in some of my volumes." JCB frequently referred to his library as Bibliotheca Americana and to Americana as "The Great Subject."

Bartlett

39. Letter. Henry C. Murphy to John Carter Brown. September 28, 1869.

Mr. Brown freely permitted other students of Americana to visit his library. Murphy writes of "...the great gratification I expressed in looking over your unrivalled library, in your absence from Providence under the polite attentiveness of Mr. Bartlett. I profess to know a little about American collections and have seen the principal ones but have found none so rich in rarities as yours."

40. Letter. John Russell Bartlett to John Carter Brown, June 17, 1865.

This is one of the few existing letters from Bartlett to John Carter Brown. Since they lived close to each other, they apparently did all of their business in person. Here Bartlett is sending Brown a note [not present] from James Lenox, another Americana collector, in which Lenox describes at length his set of De Bry. Lenox is planning a trip to Rhode Island to compare parts of his De Bry with those of Mr. Brown.

41. Letter. Bernard Quaritch to John Russell Bartlett, April 12, 1869.

In his role as Mr. Brown's librarian and bibliographical advisor, Bartlett corresponded with many dealers, especially Henry Stevens and Frederick S. Ellis in London and Frederik Muller in Amsterdam. This letter is apparently Bartlett's earliest correspondence with the firm of Bernard Quaritch, which is still flourishing today in Golden Square in London. "My prices are net to gentlemen; to agents I

Bartlett

allow 10%, which amount you will please deduct as your commission."

42. John Russell Bartlett, Frederic Surlean, John Nicholas Brown (age 12) and Harold Brown (age 10) at Niagara Falls, 1874. Photograph.

John Carter Brown died in June 1874 at the age of 76. One can speculate that Bartlett took Mr. Brown's sons on vacation, with their tutor, in his role as surrogate father. *Bibliotheca Americana. A Catalogue of Books Relating to North and South America in the Library of the Late John Carter Brown of Providence, R.I.* 2 vols. Providence, 1875-1882.

This is the second catalogue of John Carter Brown's library prepared by Bartlett, the first having appeared between 1865 and 1871. Generally cited by bibliographers as JCB (II), it is more detailed than its predecessor containing fuller titles, facsimiles of title pages, maps, colophons, lithographed initials, and printer's marks.

44. [John Russell Bartlett] *Catalogue of the Library of the Late Joseph J. Cooke of Providence, Rhode Island.* 3 vols. New York: George A. Leavitt & Co., 1883.

Joseph J. Cooke, a native of Providence and Bartlett's cousin, had been a merchant in San Francisco. He retired to Providence in 1854 and died in 1881. Although Bartlett began compiling the catalogue in 1881, the books were not sold until 1883 because Cooke's will, which provided \$5,000 to each of ten institutions for the purchase of his books at auction, was being contested.

Bartlett

45. Letter. John Nicholas Brown to John Russell Bartlett, November 8, 1883.

While no Americana was offered in the first two Cooke sales held in March and October, John Nicholas Brown was particularly eager to secure a collection of Washington letters, a Roger Williams letter and two Mather volumes. Writing from Berlin, he gives Bartlett detailed instructions and remarks: "At this distance, my dear Bartlett, I must trust that I have made myself clear. . . . Please keep the contents of this letter, Mr. Bartlett, *entirely secret* and destroy it after the sale." Bartlett was successful in securing the desired items.

46. [John Russell Bartlett] *Catalogue of the Magnificent Library of the Late Hon. Henry C. Murphy, of Brooklyn, Long Island, consisting Wholly of Americana or Books Relating to America*. [New York: G.A. Leavitt & Co., 1884]

Between July and December, 1883, Bartlett made several trips to Brooklyn in order to compile this auction catalog. Since he was unable to read Dutch, Bartlett was assisted by J. Carson Brevoort (see no. 62). Murphy's collection was a particularly rich one, and among the items that Bartlett bid on successfully for the the Browns were "*all the Ptolemies wanted*" and George Brinley's copy of the "Eliot Indian Bible" (Cambridge, Mass., 1685), a copy of which had eluded him at the Cooke sale.

47. Letter. Harold Brown to John Russell Bartlett, January 28, 1884.

Bartlett

Since his elder brother had been in charge of purchases at the Cooke sale, John Carter Brown's younger son was responsible for purchases at the Murphy sale. Writing from Dresden, twenty-one-year-old Harold sends his bidding instructions to Bartlett.

The Civil War

Bartlett was fascinated by the Civil War. His fifty-nine volumes of chronologically arranged scrapbooks of newspaper clippings relating to the war are in the Providence Public Library. He compiled a bibliography of publications about the war, was on the committee that erected the Civil War monument on Exchange Place in Providence, and compiled a biographical directory of Rhode Island officers who had served in the war. On November 19, 1863, he was honeymooning with the second Mrs. Bartlett when they heard Lincoln's address at the dedication of the Soldiers' National Cemetery at Gettysburg.

48. John Russell Bartlett. *The Literature of the Rebellion*. Boston: Draper & Halliday; Providence: S.S. Rider and Bro., 1866.

Bartlett began collecting Civil War pamphlets as early as two months after the attack on Fort Sumter. In 1865, he issued a circular soliciting contributions to his bibliography, and he also placed a notice in the *New York Evening Post*. This work

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contains more than 6,000 entries and was favorably reviewed in the *North American Review*. Thomas H. Wynne, a collector in Richmond, Virginia, remarked in 1867: "The first line of the title page contains a word that must always be obnoxious to us. . . ."

49. Colonel Percy Howard [i.e. John Russell Bartlett]. *The Barbarities of the Rebels*. Providence: Printed for the Author, 1863.

This collection of atrocity stories compiled by Bartlett from newspaper accounts (he was an inveterate clipper) was published pseudonymously. Since it was "Printed for the Author" and the printer's invoice has survived (see next entry), we can attribute the authorship to Bartlett. Further evidence is seen in a copy in the Boston Public Library that bears the inscription in Bartlett's hand: "Hon. Edward Everett with the respects of Col. Howard, Providence, August 31/63."

Courtesy of the John Hay Library.

50. Invoice. Alfred Anthony Steam Printing House to John Russell Bartlett, Providence, September 28, 1863.

For the printing of *Barbarities of the Rebels*.

The Rhode Island Years

Upon his return from the Southwest, Bartlett became very active in the political, scholarly, and civic affairs of

Bartlett

Rhode Island. As a Republican, he was annually re-elected Secretary of State from 1855 to 1872. During this period he arranged for the publication of the Rhode Island census of 1774. By solicitation, he also secured portraits of nineteen former governors; these now hang in the State House. Bartlett was responsible for bringing together the nucleus of a state library when he established an exchange program with other states for public documents. In an 1871 report on the library he expressed concern about "the danger to which the archives of the State are exposed in the State House in Providence. Twice during the past two years the building has taken fire from the furnace."

Bartlett also found time to paint watercolors of Rhode Island and Martha's Vineyard (see nos. 52-55); compile an edition of the letters of Roger Williams published by the Narragansett Club; and serve as a member of the corporation of the Butler Hospital.

51. *Sidney S. Rider and Brother Have For Sale the Following Books by John Russell Bartlett.* [Providence c.1868] Broadside.

An advertisement for two books published by Rider and two others distributed by him and published by others.

52. John Russell Bartlett. [Squantum] Watercolor.

53. John Russell Bartlett. View Near Narragansett Pier. Watercolor.

54. John Russell Bartlett. [Gay Head] 1860. Watercolor.

Bartlett

55. John Russell Bartlett. Old Stone Mill, Newport. Watercolor.

Items 52-55 Courtesy of the Rhode Island Historical Society.

56. John Russell Bartlett. *Records of the Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations in New England*. 10 vols. Providence: A. Crawford Greene and Brother, 1856-1865.

Bartlett is well known to colonial historians as the compiler of this set. His position as Secretary of State of Rhode Island (1855-1872) afforded him easy access to the original documents in the state archives. He prepared the text for the printer by making pencil marks on the manuscripts. They were then delivered to the typesetter. Supplementary material was transcribed for him at the Public Record Office, London, the expense of which was borne by John Carter Brown. The work was well-received by the contemporary press, and Bartlett's "editorial fidelity" was contrasted with the 'editorial abortion' which shames Massachusetts."

57. Valentine Poem [February 1859?] Author unknown.

The anonymous writer obviously knew Bartlett well enough to know that he was thoroughly immersed in the worlds of books and politics. Here she tries to get him to look up from them, if only for a moment.

Dear Mr. B-. Good Mr. B-.
Do for a while attend to me.
Nothing but in old records mousing

Bartlett

Or with assembly-men carousing,
Will soon convert you to a very
Ancient brass-mounted Secretary.
Then close your books as you are told
And praise my locks of shining gold.
And say my eyes are bright and fine
And be a darling Valentine.

58. John Russell Bartlett. *Bibliography of Rhode Island*. Providence: A. Anthony, 1864.

Bartlett contemplated compiling this bibliography as early as 1860. William R. Staples and Albert G. Greene of Providence, and David King of Newport, made their personal collections of Rhode Island materials available. The cost of the volume was borne by the State of Rhode Island after Elisha R. Potter of Kingston introduced a resolution in the General Assembly. Potter also shared with Bartlett his large collection of political pamphlets. The work was printed in an edition of 500 copies and 150 large paper copies.

59. Letter. John Russell Bartlett to Anna Russell (Bartlett) Duvillard, July 4, 1872.

Writing to his daughter in Providence on the letterhead of the International Congress on the Prevention and Repression of Crime, which he was attending in London, Bartlett reveals his lighter side in a description of a visit to the zoo with his second wife, Ellen, and his son, John Russell Bartlett, Jr.

"Ellen had a funny adventure this morning at the Zoological Gardens. You know what an interest she has in monkeys. While watching their antics, one of

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them, doubtless one who possessed some sentiment, managed to grab a rose from Ellen's bonnet. Johnny saw the fellow tugging at his prize, and but for his interference this monkey would have taken the bonnet as well as the rose. It is to be hoped that she will not place as much confidence in the lions and tigers, who would not be satisfied with flowers or bonnets."

60. House at 225 Benefit Street, Providence. Photograph.

Bartlett lived in this house following his return from the Southwest. Built c.1830, it stood on the east side of the street next to what is today the University Club. It was demolished in 1959.

Courtesy of the Providence Public Library.

61. John Russell Bartlett. Photograph by Manchester Bros. Providence, 1879

62. Letter. John Russell Bartlett to Henry Stevens, February 12, 1885.

By late 1884, Bartlett's health was failing. "I have been quite ill in the last six months and confined most of the time to my house; where I find consolation in my books. I seldom go to the Brown Library on account of my health as the tile floor affects me unpleasantly.

I received a letter from Mr. Brevoort this morning from which I learn that he too is quite ill and confined to the house. The fact is we are both growing old...I think it doubtful if I can see New York again."

Bartlett

The tile floor referred to by Bartlett was in the separate library room which was built near the northeast corner of John Carter Brown's home in 1862 to house his collection. Bartlett had complained earlier of the coldness of the floor when corresponding with James C. Pilling, the ethnologist, in 1879. "Mr. Brevoort" refers to James Carson Brevoort (1818-1887), a civil engineer and student of Verrazano, a customer of Bartlett and Welford, and a collector of Americana.

Courtesy of the Department of Special Collections, UCLA Library.

63. William Gammell. *Life and Services of the Hon. John Russell Bartlett. A Paper Read Before the Rhode Island Historical Society, November 2, 1886.* Providence, 1886.

Bartlett died in Providence on May 28, 1886. This memorial address was delivered by a professor of history at Brown University who was also president of the Rhode Island Historical Society. John Nicholas Brown arranged for printing and distribution of the pamphlet.

64. Elisha Capron Mowry. *John Russell Bartlett* [Providence, 1957]

A brief biographical sketch by the late Elisha Mowry, whose wife, Ida Russell (Bartlett) Mowry (1875-1964), was Bartlett's granddaughter.

65. John D. Haskell, Jr. *John Russell Bartlett (1805-1886): Bookman.* Ph.D. Dissertation, George

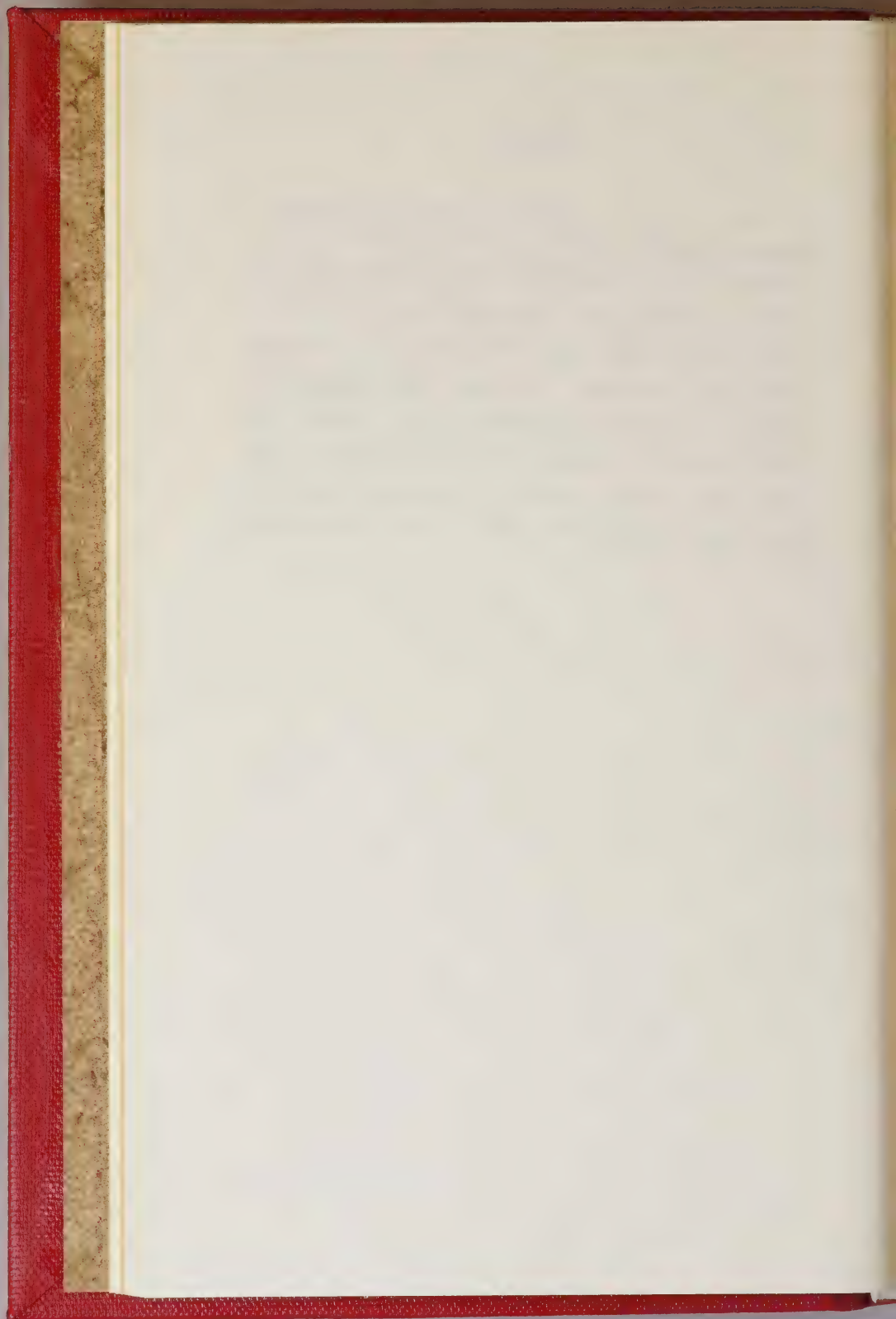
Bartlett

Washington University, 1977.

This is the only full-length biographical treatment of Bartlett.

Bartlett

The John Carter Brown Library is an independently administered center for advanced research in the humanities at Brown University. In order to facilitate and encourage use of the Library's outstanding collection of printed materials concerning the Americas from 1493 to 1830, the Library offers fellowships, sponsors lectures and conferences, regularly mounts exhibitions for the public, and publishes catalogues, bibliographies, and other works that interpret its holdings. For further information about the Library, write to: Director, The John Carter Brown Library, Box 1894, Providence, Rhode Island, 02912.









CHRISTMAS IN THE COLONIES:

Paganism or Piety?

An Exhibition for the Holiday Season

Presented by the Staff of
The John Carter Brown Library
Providence, Rhode Island

The John Carter Brown Library is an independently Administered center for advanced research in the humanities at Brown University. In order to facilitate and encourage use of the Library's outstanding materials concerning the Americas from 1493 to 1830, the Library offers fellowships, sponsors lectures and conferences, regularly mounts exhibitions for the public, and publishes catalogues, bibliographies, and other works that interpret its holdings. For further information about the Library, write to: Director, The John Carter Brown Library, Box 1894, Providence, Rhode Island, 02912.

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CASE 1

In the early sixteenth century the printed "Book of Hours," decorated profusely with relief-cut illustrations, slowly took the place of the illuminated manuscript. An integral part of Catholic devotional literature, the "Book of Hours" contained prayers or offices for use at specific canonical hours. Few books so richly exemplify reverence for Christianity, as can be seen from the following decorative illustrations of the Christmas story.

1. Book of Hours. *Ces presentes heures a lusaige de Romme*. Paris, 1498.

This work, acquired in 1882, is open to the Tree of Jesse (left), which shows the lineage of Christ, and a decorative vision of the Annunciation.

2. Book of Hours. *Ces presentes heures a lusaige de Romme*. Paris, [1505?]

This edition, printed on vellum, contains an almanac for the years 1500-1520. It is open to two woodcuts: the visit of Mary to Elizabeth (left) and the Annunciation (right).

3. Book of Hours. *Las horas de Nuestra Senora segun el uso romano*. Lyons, 1551.

Mary's visit to Elizabeth.

4. Book of Hours. *Heures a l'usage de Paris*. Paris, [1522?]

Beautiful in its simplicity, this illustration of Christ's nativity sets itself apart from the others by the presence of the star over the stable. Because stars were often associated with paganism, most early illustrations either substituted angels or left the star out entirely. This artist has distinguished himself by choosing a more realistic representation of both the stable and the heavens.

5. Book of Hours. *Heures a l'usage de Rome*. Paris, [1520?]

This Book of Hours is easily identifiable by its extremely wide border with woodcuts of familiar Biblical scenes and by the almanac it contains for the years 1520-1530.

It is open to the illustration of the shepherds in the field.

6. Book of Hours. [*Heures a l'usage de Troyes*], Paris, [ca. 1515.]

The visit of the Three Wise Men is celebrated in the Church on January sixth as The Epiphany, or the Manifestation of Christ to the Gentiles. For many centuries Epiphany, or, in English usage, "Twelfth Night," was more joyously celebrated than the feast of the Nativity at Christmas. The event is here memorialized upon the glowing page of this Book of Hours.

7. Valerius Anselmus Ryd, 1475-1540. *Catalogus annorum et principum sive monarcharum mundi geminus*. Bern, 1550.

This work first appeared approximately at the time of the author's death in 1540.

Ryd was a physician at Bern, who left his hometown for an unknown period of time, when the persecution of the Huguenots began.

The dated woodcut has the initials of Hans Brosamer, a famous German engraver and portrait painter.

8. *Christian prayers and meditations in English, French, Italian, Spanish, Greeke, and Latine*. Compiled by John Day. London, 1569.

The engraved borders on these pages, and on those immediately preceding and following, present a sequence of events in the Christmas story. The volume is a book of private devotions prepared especially for the use of Queen Elizabeth.

9. *Mamusse Wunneetupanatam-we Up-Biblum God Naneeswe Nukkone Testament*. Translated by John Eliot. Cambridge, 1663.

Written in the Massachuset language, this version of the Old Testament is opened to Isaiah 53, probably the best-known messianic passage in the Bible. This is one of the portions of scripture that Handel chose to use in his famous Christmas oratorio, the *Messiah*.

10. *Biblia Pauperum*. [*Scenes from the life of Christ with*

Old Testament praefigurations and prophecies. [Germany?
ca. 1460-1470.]

This is an example of a block book. Such books were popular in the mid-fifteenth century and were made by printing each page from a single woodcut block. It is one of many books designed to teach Bible stories to those unable to read. Shown here are several illustrations leading to and including Christ's nativity.

11. *Proprium sanctorum Hispanorum, que generaliter in Hispania celebrantur, ad formam officii novi redactum*. Antwerp, 1682.

Opened to the church calendar for the month of December.

12. *Officium Sancti Gabrielis Archangeli duplex maius de 18. Martii*. Mexico, 1685.

Opened to the passages dealing with the Archangel Gabriel's visit to Zachariah hailing the birth of John the Baptist.

13. *Novena al glorioso martyr S. Christoval, abogado contra los temblores, y muertes repentinas*. Mexico, [177-?]

Hardly less moving than the Gospel story of the Nativity are the legends which grew up in the early centuries of the Church about the childhood and infancy of Christ. Perhaps the best known of these is that of Saint Christopher the Ferryman, who took a child upon his shoulder and found in mid-river that he was bearing a crushing weight, the weight of the world which the Christ Child was carrying in his hands.

CASE 2

14. Hartmann Schedel, 1440-1514. *Register des Buchs der Croniken und Geschichten*. Nuremberg, 1493.

"The Nuremberg Chronicle" is the most profusely illustrated book of the fifteenth century. The woodcuts were designed by Albrecht Durer's teacher Michael Wolgemut and by Wilhelm Pleydenwurff. The Library owns both the original Latin edition and the German translation which appeared simultaneously in Nuremberg, 1493.

Shown at the top of the left-hand page is the woodcut illustrating the nativity.

15. Jacobus da Voragine. *Here begynnette the legende named in Latyn legenda aurea, that is to say in Englyshe the golden legende*. Translated by William Caxton. Westminster, 1493.

The story of the Nativity, compiled from several sources, was here conveyed to the English people in the days before the Bible had been printed in their language. The woodcut illustration of the lowly birth must be one of the earliest Nativity scenes to appear in a printed English book.

16. *Book of Common-Prayer and administration of the sacraments*. London, 1662.

The celebrated revision of the Book of Common-Prayer published under Charles II in 1662 presents the circumcision of Christ in strikingly handsome typographical form.

The engraving of that scene, shown here, is one of a series of forty plates with which this copy of the book is illustrated.

17. Samuel Urlsperger, 1685-1772. *Die siebenzehente Continuation der ausführlichen Nachrichten von den salzburgischen Emigranten, die sich in America niedergelassen haben.* Halle, Augsburg, 1752.

Urlsperger became senior pastor at St. Anne's Church in Augsburg in 1723. In 1732 he organized the first migration of the persecuted Salzburgers to Georgia, where they founded the settlement of Ebenezer. *Ausführliche Nachricht* is one of the many reports published by Urlsperger about the growth and financial situation of the Georgia settlement.

Shown here is the account of Christmas Day, 1750.

18. Christopher Columbus. *Epistola de insulis de novo repertis.* Paris, 1493.

This Latin version of the Columbus letter was translated from the Spanish text first published in Barcelona, 1493.

The verso of the title leaf shows the woodcut of the Angel bringing "good tidings of great joy" to the shepherds.

At the head of the cut is printed an epigram by R. L. de Corbaria, which ends:

Then to Columbus, the true finder, give
Due thanks; but greater still to God on high.
Who makes new kingdoms for himself and thee
Both firm and pious let thy conduct be.

19. Jean Charlier de Gerson, 1313-1429. *Tripartito del Christianissimo y consolatorio Doctor Juan Gerson de doctrina Christiana*. Mexico, 1544.

The first book illustration to be published in the Western hemisphere was this representation of the crowned Virgin, displaying, above and below in handsome letters, the momentous greeting to her of Gabriel, the Angel of the Annunciation--Ave Maria Gratia Plena Dominus Tecum.

20. Ptolemy, fl. 2nd cent. *Cosmographia*. Ulm, 1482.

The Palestine displayed in this distinguished map of Ptolemy was the scene of the birth and life of Jesus Christ. The map is derived from an early 14th-century work in which Marino Sanuto, a Venetian statesmen and geographer, urged a resumption of the crusades for the liberation of the Holy Land. Knowledge of Palestine gained from the crusades makes this map, in the matter of place names and geographical features, one of the fullest of the period. Its contents were of the first interest to all literate Christians. The place of the Nativity here spelled "Bethleem," is located on the map at about the center of the right-hand page.

21. Erasmus Weichenhan, d. 1594. *Christliche Betrachtungen uber die evangelischen Texte, so man pfleget zu lesen an denen Sontagen und hohen Festen*. Germantown, 1791.

Open to the lesson for Christmas Sunday.

22. *Villancicos, que se cantaron en la Santa Iglesia Metropolitana de Mexico*. Mexico, 1657.

The *villancico* was a metrical composition sung or recited in the churches of Spain and Latin America at Matins on Christmas and other important feasts of the Church. Sometimes these poems were sung in connection with liturgical dramas appropriate to the feast being celebrated. Each year the forms of this service were freshly prepared with an especially written musical setting. In this volume are the texts without music of some forty separately printed *villancicos* ranging in date from 1657 to 1730.

23. James Lyon, 1735-1794. *Urania, or a choice collection of psalm-tunes anthems, and hymns*. Philadelphia, 1761.

Here are shown the familiar words to the Christmas carol we sing today "While Shepherds Watch Their Flocks ...," although the tune written here is different from that now commonly used.

24. *The Worcester collection of sacred harmony ... The second edition*. Worcester, 1788.

This short Christmas hymn, with words reminiscent of the carol "Hark, the Herald Angels Sing," became part of the Library's collection in December of 1928.

25. Daniel Read, 1757-1836. *The Columbian harmonist, No. 1 Containing first. A plain and concise introduction to psalmody fitly calculated for the use of Singing Schools. Second. A choice collection of new psalm tunes of American composition*. New Haven, [1795].

Shown here is the beginning of a Christmas anthem by Handel.

CASE 3

The Christmas story is vital to the teaching of Christianity and, therefore, must somehow be taught to children. The following four items are attempts to bring the message of Christianity to children in various mediums such as verse and simple illustration.

26. *A new hieroglyphical Bible for the amusement & instruction of children.* Boston, 1794.

27. *The History of the Holy Jesus.* Boston, 1792.

28. *A Family book for children.* Hartford, 1799.

29. *The History of the Holy Jesus.* [Boston? ca. 1750.]

30. *The History of the Holy Jesus.* Boston, 1749.

31. Increase Mather, 1639-1723. *A testimony against several prophane and superstitious customs, now practised by some in New-England.* London, 1687.

Christmas, as we know it today, is built primarily upon nineteenth-century celebrations. In colonial America Christmas was not a significant holiday. In 1644 Parliament, influenced by the Puritans, officially forbade the "pagan" celebration of Christmas. In 1680 Charles II re-

established the holiday, but the Puritans in the colonies and Scotland held fast to the notion that the observance of Christmas on December 25 was pagan. As the years wore on and people began to include a bit of merrymaking during the Christmas season, preachers such as the Mathers spoke out against such celebrations. Several of their arguments are presented on the two pages shown here.

32. Cotton Mather, 1663-1728. *Grace defended. A censure on the ungodliness, by which the glorious grace of God, is too commonly abused.* Boston, 1712.

Following in the footsteps of his father, Increase, Cotton Mather spoke out strongly against the traditional merrymaking associated with Christmas. He speaks to this issue in section IX to which the volume is opened.

33. Cotton Mather, 1663-1728. *Winter piety. ... A serious Christian may propose to meet with his Blessed Saviour, at the temple in the winter.* Boston, 1712.

While not speaking directly to the issue of Christmas, Mather discusses the basic problem of Christians trying to remain pious at a time when paganism is most seductive.

Shakespeare more than once referred to Christmas in his plays and poetry. Two instances are shown here: *Love's Labour's Lost* and *Hamlet*. Of the two editions of *Hamlet* presented, the Boston, 1794, edition completely omits the reference to Christmas, although there is no indication in the front matter that the volume was abridged.

34. William Shakespeare, 1564-1616. *Mr. William Shakespeares comedies, histories & tragedies*. London, 1623.

This is the famous "first folio" of Shakespeare's works. It is opened to the speech of Marcellus at the end of Scene 1, which begins "Some sayes, that euer 'gainst that Season ..."

35. William Shakespeare, 1564-1616. *Mr. William Shakespeares comedies, histories, and tragedies. The second impression*. London, 1632.

The second folio is open to the speech of Biron beginning "At Christmas I no more desire a rose ..."

36. William Shakespeare, 1564-1616. *Hamlet, Prince of Denmark: A tragedy. ... As performed at the theatre in Boston*. Boston, 1794.

Here the two speeches by Horatio at the end of scene 1 have been combined, eliminating entirely the mention of Christmas by Marcellus.

37. Bernardino de Sahagun, ca. 1499-1590. *Psalmodia Christiana, y sermonario delos sanctos de ano, en lengua mexicana*. Mexico, 1583.

This is a songbook for the Christian year, written in Aztec.

Sahagun was a Spanish Franciscan missionary and historian, who lived in Mexico from 1529 to the time of his death.

CASE 4

38. John Milton, 1608-1674. *The poetical works of John Milton. Consisting of Paradise lost and regained.* Boston, 1796.

Opened to the Christmas story, told in the iambic pentameter of Milton's *Paradise Regained*.

39. Anne Bradstreet, 1612?-1672. *Several poems compiled with great variety of wit and learning.* Boston, 1758.

Anne Bradstreet came to Massachusetts when she was eighteen years old. She was the first English woman in America to publish a book of poems, dealing often with natural philosophy, physics and human nature.

Open to the "winter" section of her *Four Seasons of the Year*.

40. Juana Ines de la Cruz, 1651-1695. *Poemas de la unica poetisa americana, musa dezima.* Barcelona, 1691.

Juana Ines de la Cruz, celebrated poet, was a Mexican nun. Like Anne Bradstreet, she was honored with the title "The Tenth Muse." Open to her *Villancicos* (see number 21).

41. *The Lady's magazine; and repository of entertaining knowledge.* Vol. 1. Philadelphia, 1792.

A valiant attempt is made in this periodical to recognize the literary merits of eighteenth-century women. It is opened to a poem entitled *Winter*.

42. Matthias Claudius, 1740-1815. *Asmus omnia sua secum portans, oder Sammtliche Werke des Wandsbecker Boten V. Theil*. Hamburg, Wandsbeck, 1789.

Der Wandsbecker Bote was a weekly periodical published (1771-1775) by Matthias Claudius, who wrote most of the contents. Acquired by the library because of the poem on slavery that it contains, the work is now opened to his lyrical rendition of the Christmas story.

43. Martin Opitz, 1597-1639. *Martin Opitzen von Boberfeld teutsche Gedichte ... Dritter Band*. Frankfurt am Main, 1746.

Opitz, born in Silesia, emigrated to the Netherlands after the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War; he died in Poland. A collection of his poems was first published in 1624.

The displayed "Song of praise on the joyful birth of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ" was composed in spite of bitter frost and raging plague by which the poet felt threatened when writing these lines.

The plate shows a nativity scene painted by Johann Justin Preisler and engraved by Martin Tyroff, both of Nuremberg. It was not uncommon in such nativity scenes to anticipate Christ's crucifixion, as in this case.

44. Mourt's relation. *A relation or journall of the beginning and proceedings of the English plantation settled at Plimoth in New England.* London, 1622.

Referred to by Sabin as the "cornerstone of a New England library," Mourt's *Relation* is a work of primary importance to the scholarship of the Plymouth colony. It was the first book published in Great Britain that gives an account of the founding of the Plymouth colony. The work is opened to the passage describing the Pilgrims' first Christmas in the New World.

45. John Smith, 1580-1631. *The generall historie of Virginia, New-England, and the Summer Isles.* London, 1627.

The passage shown here tells about the events during the winter of 1607/1608, when Captain John Smith, later on President of the Colony of Virginia, was captured by the Indians. It was shortly after the Christmas celebrations that Pocahontas, one of the daughters of Chief Powhatan, allegedly saved the Captain's life.

This copy was originally owned by Charles II (his royal crest is stamped on the front cover), who in 1680 re-established Christmas as a holiday.

46. *The Massachusetts Centinel.* Vol. VI, number 27. Boston, 1786.

One of the things now commonly associated with Christmas is shopping. In this December 23 issue of *The Massachusetts Centinel*, the section entitled "Levity" offers a humorous sidelight to shopping in the eighteenth century.

47. *The Rhode-Island almanack for the year, 1728. Being the first ever printed in that colony.* Newport, 1728.

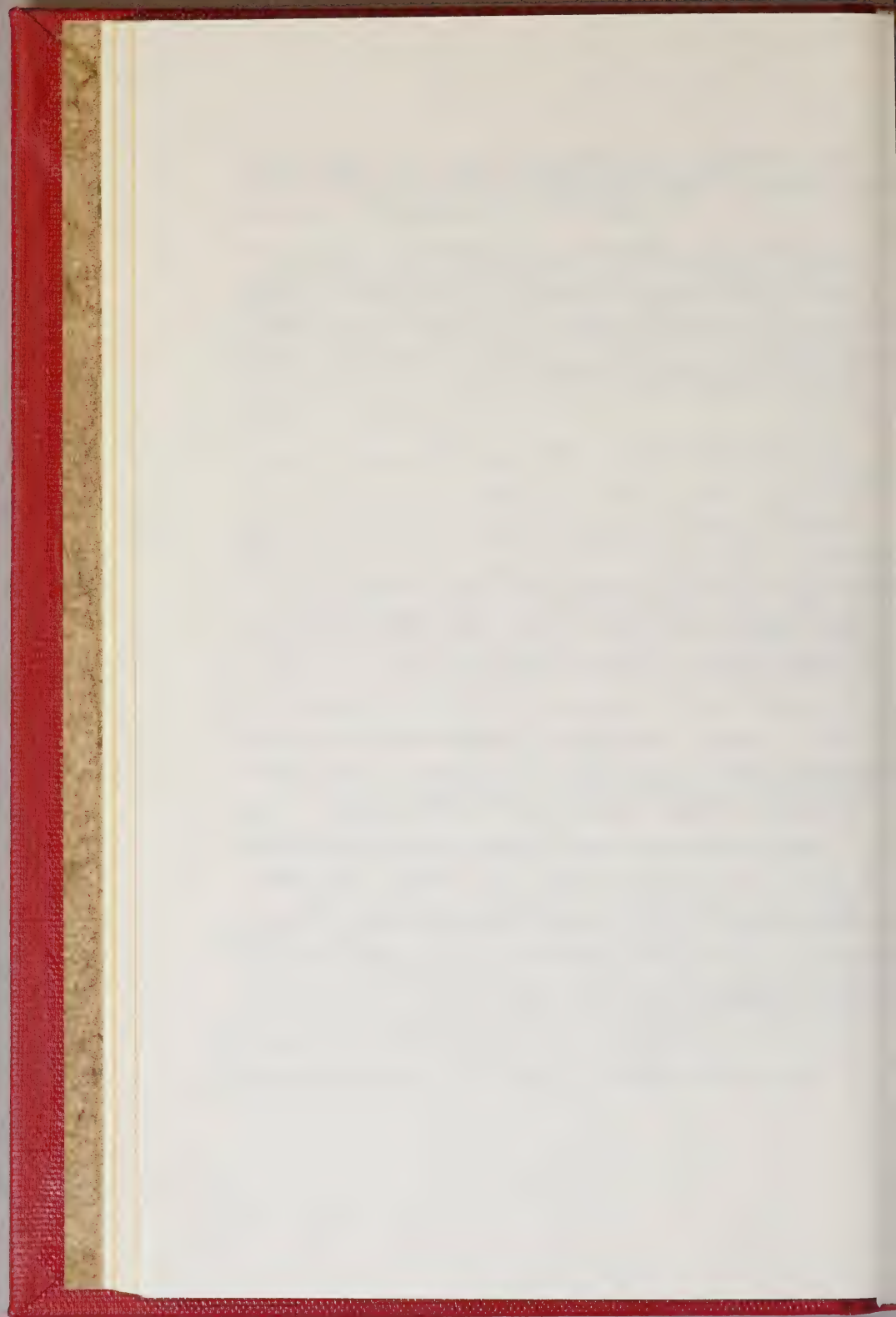
A facsimile, published in Providence in 1911. The almanac alludes to some of the controversial Christmas customs in the comments with which Poor Robin surrounds December. Along the outside we find a reference to feasting and within can be found a reference to logs for the fire, whispering remembrances of the Yule log.

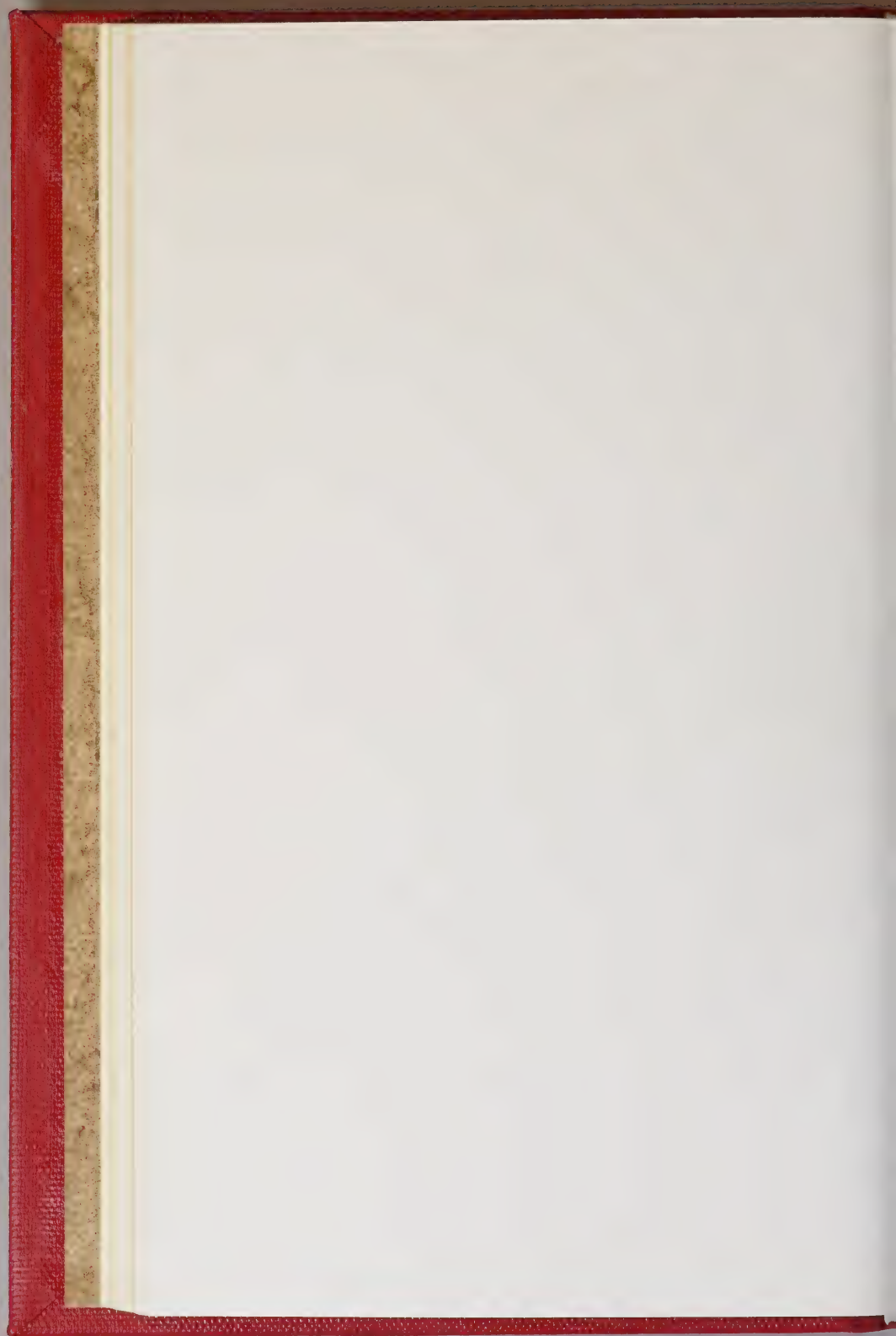
48. Susannah Carter. *The frugal housewife.* Boston, 1772.

One of the most favored traditions of the Christmas holiday is the practice of feasting. In this eighteenth-century cookbook the proposed menu for December includes both ham and fowl, the two dishes most commonly served at current Christmas dinners. The engraving of various types of fowl on the right was done by Paul Revere.

49. George Washington, 1732-1799. [*Original autograph letters, from General Washington to Joseph Reed, during the American Revolution*]. Cambridge, 1775.

Some colonists had other concerns at Christmas time, as can be seen in this letter from George Washington written on Christmas Day. Although his chief concern is military affairs, he does close his letter with, "I very sincerely offer you the compliments of the season & wish you, Mr. Reed, & your fireside, the happy return of a great many of them."









GATHERING A SCATTERED FLEET

The Legacy of Richard Hakluyt

An Exhibition Mounted for the
Annual Meeting of the
Society for the History of Discoveries
and the
First North American Convention
of the
Hakluyt Society

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Exhibition and Catalogue by Susan Danforth

"He set forth a large collection of English sea voyages . . . in a word many of such useful tracts of sea adventures, which were before scattered as several ships, Master Hakluit hath embodied into a Fleet, divided into three Squadrons, so many several volumes."

Thomas Fuller. *Worthies of England*. London, 1622.

Introduction

John Carter Brown became a member of the Hakluyt Society the year it was established, 1846, the same year that he began to build his own collection of Americana. In 1962 the John Carter Brown Library had the honor of hosting one of the first annual meetings of the Society for the History of Discoveries, and the librarians and curators of this institution have been active members of the SHD from its early years. Considering the multitude of our overlapping interests, this joint meeting of the Society for the History of Discoveries and the Hakluyt Society at the John Carter Brown Library is an event that is long overdue, and we extend a warm welcome to our colleagues.

The subject of the exhibition we have mounted for the occasion is Richard Hakluyt, compiler and disseminator of information. The few facts known about Hakluyt's life have been well discussed in many sources. In brief, he was born about 1551, educated at Westminster and Oxford, took religious orders, was rewarded for his public service with modest clerical preferments, and died in 1616.

Hakluyt was introduced to the study of cosmography that became his life's work by his elder cousin, also named Richard Hakluyt, who was a lawyer of the Middle Temple in London. (To distinguish between the two they are often designated Richard Hakluyt the lawyer, and Richard Hakluyt the preacher.) Hakluyt the lawyer was a recognized consultant on economic geography, supplying trade data about foreign countries to the merchants and investors who were his clients. Both Hakluyts were active proponents of the restoration of English prosperity through commerce, but while Hakluyt the lawyer's contributions were directed to his clients and remained for the most part private documents in manuscript, Hakluyt the preacher utilized the presses of England and the Continent to disseminate the practical information that his countrymen

needed to translate the dream of mercantile empire into reality.

It was this unified vision and the very practical steps he took to achieve his goal that have earned Richard Hakluyt his honored place in history. Hakluyt wrote and he published, but he was also unstinting in his encouragement of others. This was done with apparent unconcern for financial reward and personal fame.

While the choice of Richard Hakluyt as the subject for this exhibition is an obvious one, the reasons for our selection go beyond the presence at this meeting of the Society that bears his name. In one way, at least, we are all very close to Hakluyt, for there is certainly no money and precious little fame to be had by collecting, editing, publishing, and studying historical works. Perhaps Hakluyt (and St. Jude) could find a place as the patron saints of rare book libraries and scholars.

Then, too, we can all point with considerable pride to the lasting, positive effects of building the foundations upon which future scholars can base their work. The continued growth of the John Carter Brown Library collection, the expanding list of titles edited and published by the Hakluyt Society, the establishment of the journal *Terrae Incognitae*, and the growing number of books and articles on the history of discovery and exploration by the members of both societies attest to the importance of continuity and unity of purpose.

The books (and much of the commentary) in the exhibition are "old friends," and we take pleasure in this opportunity to present the works of Hakluyt, his predecessors and his successors, that have found a place in the John Carter Brown Library as the foundation for the study of history.

CASE I

England and the Marketplace

Since the time of Columbus, Spain and Portugal had established a presence in the outer continents while England had relied on European trade as a source of wealth. For a variety of reasons, both political and practical, it was not until economic depression forced a reconsideration of her traditional stance that England had need to confront the organized maritime activity of her southern neighbors. Expansion of trade was a recognized necessity, but early plans focused upon further development of markets in the East, rather than upon exploration of possibilities in the New World. To this end, the Merchants Adventurers for the Discovery of New Trades was incorporated in 1555 (later re-styled the Muscovy Company as a more accurate reflection of its geographic sphere of interest). Although overland expeditions to Asia were accomplished in the name of the Company, its primary thrust was maritime and exploratory--to the East with a search for a Northeast Passage and to the West with a search for a way through the barrier of North and South America.

1. Anthony Jenkinson. "Russiae, Moscoviae et Tartariae Descriptio." Map in Abraham Ortelius, *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, Antwerp, 1570.

Anthony Jenkinson, an Englishman in the employ of the Muscovy Company, traveled overland to Russia in 1557 to establish commercial relations in Central Asia. He also cast an eye toward following in Marco Polo's steps to China, but the eastern lands were in turmoil and trade with Cathay had all but ceased. Although his ultimate goal of reaching China was frustrated, Jenkinson was the first Englishman to visit Central Asia. The northern land route never proved

practical, but Jenkinson's geographic observations were incorporated by Ortelius into the first modern map of Russia.

Support for Enterprise

The establishment of the Muscovy Company is regarded as the seed of English maritime empire, but from a modern vantage point it is difficult to see how there could have been an expectation of success, for official backing, nautical expertise, and accurate geographic information were sorely lacking. The already well-established Spanish and Portuguese expansion had been governmentally directed and supported from the beginning, whereas English ventures were usually privately organized and, more often than not, only unofficially sanctioned by the Crown during the long period when England was vulnerable to the superior might of her rivals.

A dearth of specific geographic information posed the biggest problem. One result was that most English voyages in the sixteenth century were led or guided by foreigners: Bristol merchants employed the Venetian Cabots to follow up on the New World discoveries by Columbus in North America; voyages to Africa depended on Portuguese expertise; even Drake required Spanish pilots to guide him across the oceans. Additionally, this lack of reliable knowledge about new lands, a necessary tool for successful enterprise, discouraged potential British travelers and explorers.

Written information of this nature did, in fact, exist, but was inaccessible to the lay reader of English. While the first half of the sixteenth century witnessed a growing body of descriptive literature about the discoveries, their publication in Latin and other foreign languages limited circulation in Britain. Possible investors (and adventurers) remained, for

the most part, unenlightened by their revelations.

By mid-century, however, there began to appear in translation travel accounts and maritime manuals that were to serve as the building blocks for the creation of a maritime empire. In this early period the windows to a wider world were opened by men such as Richard Eden and John Frampton.

Richard Eden, 1521?-1576

2. Sebastian Münster. *A treatyse of the newe India . . . Translated out of Latin into Englishe. By Richard Eden.* London, 1553.

One of the first translators was Richard Eden, who had held a post as a Treasury official and was possibly historian of the Muscovy Company as well. His *Treatyse of the newe India* was a translation of part of Münster's *Cosmographia*. The publication of the chapters of this popular travel book dealing with early Spanish discoveries coincided with the departure of the first English expedition in search of a Northeast passage, an event that aroused great public interest in London. Thirty years before, the City of London had rejected proposals to underwrite any sort of exploration, but discovery had become popular, and Eden provided a focus for an increasingly interested audience.

3. Pietro Martire d'Anghiera. *The Decades of the newe worlde or west India, . . . translated into Englysshe by Rycharde Eden.* London, 1555.

The *Treatyse* was followed two years later by Eden's translation of the section of Peter Martyr's *Decadas* (Alcalá de Henares, 1516) that gave an account of Spanish activities in the New World from 1492 to 1521. Although

much of the information was a half-century old, Eden also provided his readers with up-to-the-minute narratives of English voyages to Africa between 1553 and 1555.

4. Martín Cortés. *The Arte of navigation . . . translated out of Spanyshe into Englyshe by Richard Eden*. London, 1561.

Stephen Borough, chief pilot of the Muscovy Company, was honorably received by the pilots of Spain's India House in 1558. Impressed with Spanish organization, Borough conceived of a plan to develop English maritime expertise. First, he persuaded the Governors of the Company to support the translation and publication of the official Spanish treatise on navigation, Martín Cortés's *Breve Compendio* (Seville, [1551]), which was accomplished by Richard Eden in 1561 (the title shown here). Although the *Art of Navigation* was not the first English book on the subject, it has the distinction of being the first work known to have been authorized by leaders of trade. Eden's translation became a standard source, and saw many editions.

Borough did not fare so well with the second part of his plan--the establishment of a school for pilots on the Spanish model. That was a concept whose time had not yet come.

John Frampton, fl. 1577-1596

In 1559 John Frampton, an English merchant resident in Seville, fell into the hands of the Spanish Inquisition. Years elapsed before he was able to make his escape and return home, bankrupt and disheartened. He applied to the Crown for letters of marque against Spain in order to obtain recompense for some of the material things lost during his imprisonment, but it is probable that his most effective

revenge was the translation of six Spanish books, the subjects of which focused the attention of his countrymen on the wealth of the Indies they had, by default, allowed to enrich the treasuries of Spain and Portugal.

5. Bernardino de Escalante. *A Discourse of the nauigation which the Portugales doe make . . . translated out of Spanish into English*, by Iohn Frampton. London, 1579.

In 1577 Bernardino de Escalante, cleric and official of the Inquisition, published his *Discurso de la Navegacion*. The purpose of this book was to deliver to the Spanish reader a concise description of successful Portuguese activities in the East Indies and China in order to incite Spain to more aggressive action in broadening the boundaries of its empire.

Frampton was also interested in the wealth of the East, and his translation of Escalante's work was intended to encourage that same interest among an English audience.

6. Nicolás Monardes. *Ioyfull newes out of the newe founde worlde, . . . Englisht by Jhon [sic] Frampton marchaunt*. London, 1577.

Nicolás Monardes had organized the accrued knowledge of the medicinal properties of New World plants that he and his predecessors had been gathering and testing for many years. The first and second parts of his treatise appeared in 1565 and 1571 respectively; in 1574 these plus a third part were issued as a single volume, *Primera y Segunda y Tercera Partes De La Historia Medicinal*.

Frampton first translated sections of this work in 1577, in which his countrymen read, for the first time in English, descriptions of the potato, sarsaparilla, and sassafras, a

supposed cure-all. Anticipated profits from the cultivation of sassafras were among the factors that motivated Raleigh and others to undertake the colonization of North America.

7. Nicolás Monardes. *Joyfull newes out of the newe founde worlde*, . . . *Newly corrected as by conference with the olde copies may appeare* . . . London, 1580.

Frampton was urged by the celebrated London physician, the Portuguese Jew Dr. Hector Nunes, to bring out a new edition to include parts of Monardes work left out in 1577. This he did in 1580, adding chapters on the use of iron in medicine and manufacturing, on the use of snow for refrigeration, and on the use of the bezoar stone in the treatment of poisoning.

Frampton's translations of Monardes's works were a powerful stimuli for English curiosity about the New World, and through successive editions they became instruments for English colonial aspirations.

Hakluyt's Involvement

Richard Hakluyt's major work, *Voiages of the English Nation* (1598-1600), is so celebrated that it often overshadows his long and active role in making the literature of discovery available to his countrymen. Between 1580 and 1625 (when Samuel Purchas, who utilized information gathered by Hakluyt, began to publish) Hakluyt was directly or indirectly responsible for the translation and publication of twenty-eight works on geography and exploration. He cast his net widely and developed a network of scholars, publishers, and explorers in England and abroad with whom he exchanged information and ideas.

Although a successor to Eden and Frampton in some respects, Hakluyt's involvement was of a different character and his influence more far-reaching. His publications were part of a larger design to achieve his vision of England's potential, which can be separated into three elements: the revival and advancement of national glory through trade; the colonization of North America, not only as a stepping stone to Asian markets, but also as a place of opportunity for England's destitute; and the development of British sea power through the education of her seamen. These ideas are expressed by Hakluyt in his introductions and guided him in the selection of titles he chose to have translated.

8. Jacques Cartier. *A shorte and briefe narration of the two navigations . . . first translated out of French into Italian, by that famous learned man Gio: Bapt: Ramutius, and now turned into English by Iohn Florio.* London, 1580.

Jacques Cartier's discovery and exploration of the Gulf and River of St. Lawrence was the by-product of a search for the Northwest Passage carried out by the French in 1534 and 1535. The narrative of Cartier's first two voyages was translated into English by John Florio of Oxford from the Italian version printed in volume three of Ramusio's *Navigazioni et viaggi* (Venice, 1556).

The translation and publication of this volume was the first to be sponsored by Hakluyt; Florio used Hakluyt's own copy of Ramusio for his translation.

9. René Goulaine de Laudonnière. *L'Histoire notable de la Floride.* Paris, 1586.

The sixteenth-century French attempt to establish a presence on the southeast coast of North America was a sad story from beginning to end. In 1562 Jean Ribaut led a

group of Huguenots to Parris Island, South Carolina, and erected Fort Caroline. The venture was shortlived. Ribaut returned to France for reinforcements, and his colonists, unable to support themselves, followed a few months later. In 1564 René de Laudonnière made another colonization attempt further south near present-day Jacksonville, Florida. This colony was destroyed by Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, who had been entrusted by Spain with the task of driving the French from the region and establishing a colony in Florida to define Spanish claims. Revenge was taken in 1568 by Dominique de Gourges, who massacred the Spanish garrison that had been left at Fort Caroline.

Contemporary printed reports of these events are scarce, possibly due to the awkward political relationship between France and Spain. Laudonnière, however, wrote a detailed account of all the French expeditions; this manuscript was located by Hakluyt who arranged and financed its publication.

10. Pietro Martire d'Anghiera. *De orbe nouo*. Paris, 1587.

This book was a re-publication in full of Peter Martyr's pioneering account of early Spanish discoveries (Alcalà de Henares, 1530). Although the establishment of the Spanish empire is certainly the subject of the book, this Paris edition cartographically announces English claims in North America. The map that illustrates it is dedicated to Richard Hakluyt and has the distinction of being the first published map to use the appellation Virginia, so named by Walter Raleigh in 1585 in honor of Queen Elizabeth.

11. Pietro Martire d'Anghiera. *De nouo orbe, or The historie of the West Indies . . . Whereof three, have been formerly translated into English, by R. Eden, whereunto the other five, are newly added by the Industrie, and painefull Travaile of M. Lok Gent.* London, 1612.

At Hakluyt's insistence, Martyr's work was translated into English in 1612, using the Paris edition of 1587, above. Martyr's last five decades, translated by Michael Lok, were added to the three already translated by Eden in 1555.

12. Jan Huygen van Linschoten. *Iohn Huighen van Linschoten. His discours of voyages into ye Easte & West Indies.* London, [1598].

In 1583 the Dutch merchant Linschoten travelled from Lisbon to Goa, and for six years lived as a dependent of the Archbishop there (although apparently a Protestant). Although he did not travel widely, he acquired detailed information about Portuguese possessions in the East that led him to believe that Lusitanian control in the area was weakening. When he returned to Holland, Linschoten devoted himself to persuading his countrymen to send expeditions to the East.

With the same purpose, Hakluyt had Linschoten's work translated from the Dutch for the benefit of his own countrymen.

(Hakluyt Society, First Series, nos. 70 and 71. Vol. I edited by Arthur Coke Burnell, 1885. Vol. II edited by P.A. Tiele, 1885.)

13. Juan González de Mendoza. *The historie of the great and mightie kingdome of China . . . translated out of the Spanish by R. Parke.* London, 1588 [i.e. 1589].

The first edition of González de Mendoza's *Historia De Las Cosas Mas Notables . . . del gran Reyno de la China* appeared in Madrid in 1586. Among other things, this work contained the first printing of the narrative of Antonio de Espejo's expedition into New Mexico in 1582 and 1583. His reports of mineral deposits there led to the conquest of the area by Juan de Buôto in 1598.

Hakluyt encouraged this translation from the Madrid edition of 1588.

(Hakluyt Society, First Series, nos. 14 and 15. Edited by Sir George T. Staunton. Introduction by R. H. Major. Vol. I, 1852; Vol. II, 1854.)

14. Antonio Galvão. *The discoueries of the world from their first originall unto the yeere of our Lord 1555 . . . Corrected, quoted, and now published in English by Richard Hakluyt.* London, 1601.

This history by Antonio Galvão, one-time governor of the Molucca Islands, was first published in Lisbon in 1563. It was already a scarce book in 1601, and Hakluyt had to depend upon a faulty English translation that came to him from an unknown source and to which he made a number of additions. In his dedication, Hakluyt noted that the Portuguese edition mentioned English exploration and discovery only four times, a consequence, he said, of the paucity of accounts of English voyages available to Galvão when he wrote in 1555. Further, Hakluyt states that if it had not been for his own efforts, the situation would have been much the same half a century later.

(Hakluyt Society, First Series, no. 30. Edited by [C. R. D.] Bethune, 1862.)

CASE II

15. *The American Drawings of John White, 1577-1590.* Edited by Paul Hulton and David Beers Quinn. London and Chapel Hill, 1964.

The colonists sent out by Sir Walter Raleigh to Virginia in the spring of 1585 included Thomas Hariot, "a good geographer," and John White, "a skillful painter." The paintings of John White are among the earliest original pictures of North American Indians, scenes, plants, and animals. These watercolors have survived--many in the original, some in contemporary copies--and are now in the British Library. It is especially instructive to compare White's treatment of his subjects with the versions executed for De Bry's *Grands Voyages*.

16. Theodor De Bry. [*Great Voyages. English, Part I*] Frankfurt, 1590.

At Hakluyt's suggestion, Theodor De Bry included Thomas Hariot's account of English settlements in Virginia, (*Briefe and true report*. London, 1588) in the first volume of his work, commonly called *Grands Voyages*. Hakluyt supplied De Bry with the legends that described John White's drawings.

17. Theodor De Bry. [*Great Voyages. Latin, Part II*] Frankfurt, 1591.

The text and illustrations for the accounts of Florida Indians that appeared in De Bry were provided by Jacques LeMoyne de Morgues, a protégé of Sir Walter Raleigh. Editions appeared in Latin in 1591 and 1601, and in German in 1591 and 1603. The publication of this account

was probably arranged by Hakluyt as well.

18. Joannes Leo Africanus. *A geographical historie of Africa . . . Translated and collected by Iohn Pory.* London, 1600.

In the dedication to the third volume of *Principal Navigations* (1600) Hakluyt made a statement that suggests he had designated John Pory as his editorial successor. "I have for these three yeeres past encouraged and furthered in these studies of cosmographie and forren histories my very honest, industrious and learned friend, M. John Pory, one of special skill and extraordinary hope to performe great matters in the same."

At Hakluyt's suggestion Pory published this translation of Leo Africanus's history of Africa, but he was apparently fonder of participating in voyages of discovery than of writing about them and did not, after all, follow in Hakluyt's footsteps.

(Hakluyt Society, First Series, nos. 92, 93, and 94. Edited by Robert Brown, 1896.)

19. John Brereton. *A Briefe and true Relation.* London, 1602.

John Brereton. *A Briefe and true Relation.* Second issue. London, 1602.

This is the first separate publication of an English voyage to New England. Bartholomew Gosnold brought the ship *Concord* to the Maine coast, discovered Cape Cod and Cape Cod Bay, and explored Martha's Vineyard and Buzzards Bay. He began to erect a trading post on Cuttyhunk Island, but his men refused to stay there.

Despite this setback, he traded profitably with the Indians for furs and returned to England with a cargo of sassafras roots and timber.

The second edition of the *Relation*, which appeared in the same year as the first, includes a section written by Richard Hakluyt the lawyer. Called the "Inducements," it lists thirty-one ways in which England could establish an effective North American presence. This edition also contains a list of the manpower required to accomplish a colonization venture in the New World and descriptions of the southeast taken from Laudonniere and Harriot.

20. Fidalgo Delvas. *Relaçam verdadeira*. [Evora, 1557].

Knowledge of the expedition of deSoto derives primarily from the *Relaçam* of the Gentleman of Elvas, shown here in the original edition. Disembarking in 1539, deSoto began a march that zig-zagged through what is now Georgia, North and South Carolina, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, Texas, and Oklahoma. By the time he died on the banks of the Mississippi River, DeSoto and his men had spent three years in the wilderness on a trek that had served to open the interior of the continent to exploration.

21. Fidalgo Delvas. *Virginia richly valued . . . translated out of Portuguese by Richard Hakluyt*. London, 1609.

Although the Portuguese *Relaçam* apparently attracted little attention at the time of its publication, it became a factor in the English colonization of America when Richard Hakluyt translated it in 1609 as *Virginia Richly Valued*.

(Hakluyt Society, First Series, no. 9 (1611 ed.). Edited by William B. Rye, 1851.)

22. Gerrit de Veer. *The true and perfect Description of three Voyages. Translated by William Phillip.* London, 1609.

Dutch navigator William Barents, discoverer of Spitzbergen, died in the Arctic in 1597. The account of his three voyages (1594, 1595, and 1596) in search of a northeast passage was written by Gerrit de Veer and published in Amsterdam in 1598.

At Hakluyt's suggestion, the Dutch work was translated into English by William Phillip.

(Hakluyt Society, First Series, no. 13. Edited by Charles T. Beke, 1853. First Series, no. 54 (2d. ed.) by Koolemans Beyman, 1876.)

23. Marc Lescarbot. *Noua Francia . . . Translated out of French into English by P.E.* London, 1609.

Marc Lescarbot, French Huguenot lawyer-poet and author of *Histoire de la Nouvelle France* (1609), was a member of Pierre du Gua de Monts's colony at Port Royal from the summer of 1606 to the summer of 1607. His perceptive comments on colonization and the Indians are a valuable supplement to the more factual narrative by Samuel de Champlain.

At Hakluyt's insistence, Books IV and VI were translated from the French edition.

CASE III

The Elizabethan Age

Hakluyt's accomplishment is most effectively viewed, perhaps, against the backdrop of the Elizabethan Age itself. Richard Eden's *Treatyse* was published five years before Elizabeth I ascended the throne in 1558; Hakluyt's *Voyages*, a compendium and celebration of English maritime activities throughout the world, was completed two years before her death in 1603.

The reign of Elizabeth, which was characterized by burgeoning commercial and intellectual activity, was made illustrious by writers and by men of action such as Shakespeare, Spenser, Sir Walter Raleigh, and Sir Francis Drake. As Shakespeare was not the only dramatist of his time, nor Drake the only man of action, so was Hakluyt not the only creator of public pride in maritime achievement. Each, however, exemplifies the heights reached during that time. The literary men and the entrepreneurs who were the heroes of the age captured the English imagination with their words and their deeds, and the presses of London fed this pride in achievement with books that mirrored the growing public interest.

William Shakespeare

24. William Shakespeare. *Mr. William Shakespeares Comedies, Histories, & Tragedies*. London, 1623.

The new maritime discoveries entered English consciousness in a variety of ways. Shakespeare's *Tempest* was set in the West Indies, and in *Twelfth Night* (played for the first time in January, 1601) Maria says of Malvolio,

"He does smile his face into more lines than are in the new map with the augmentation of the Indies." It is generally accepted that Shakespeare must have been thinking of the Wright-Molyneux map, drawn to illustrate Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations*, 1598-1600. (See below.)

25. Edward Wright. "A true hydrographical description of so much of the world as hath beene hetherto discovered, and is comme to our knowledge . . ." in Richard Hakluyt. *The Principal Navigations, Voiages, Traffiques And Discoveries of the English Nation*. Vol. I. London, 1598.

*This map is available in facsimile from The John Carter Brown Library.

(Hakluyt Society, First Series, no. 59(b). Notes by C. H. Coote, 1880.)

Sir Francis Drake

Due to ill fortune, Drake's expeditions were beset with problems. By accident of timing cities yielded no ransom, cornered prey eluded his grasp, and treasure slipped through his fingers. Drake, however, had imagination and style, and these traits elevated him to the status of hero.

26. "The Famous Voyage of Sir Francis Drake" in Richard Hakluyt *The Principall Navigations* London, 1589.

In 1577 Drake embarked on a voyage to sack Panama. This goal was not accomplished, but the capture of the Spanish treasure ship *Cacafuego* amply repaid his backers, and Drake returned home in 1580 after having circumnavigated the globe. Although the Panama objective

had been abandoned, Drake has won on another front by sailing unscathed through Spanish waters and demonstrating the vulnerability of the Spanish empire.

An account of Drake's voyage around the world was not published until nine years after his return. Initially, Queen Elizabeth wished to limit publicity about the voyage; following her breach with Spain in 1585, Drake was busy elsewhere and did not begin to write his story until after the defeat of the Armada. When he discovered that Hakluyt was completing the first edition of his *Principall Navigations*, he allowed a summary account to be added to the collection after the volume had been completed. Not all copies of the book contain the Drake narrative.

27. Baptista Boazio. *The Famouse West Indian voyadge made by the English fleete*. London, 1589.

In 1585 Drake set out to seize the cities of Santo Domingo and Cartagena. From there, he intended to proceed to Panama, and then on to Honduras. This foray was a financial disaster--nothing worked out as anticipated. It was, however, significant in two respects. First, unlike Drake's earlier expeditions, this one had the official support of Queen Elizabeth and was England's first national assault on the Spanish Main. Additionally, it had great propaganda value, for although the attack had been unsuccessful, rumors spread through Europe that the reverse was true. The Bank of Seville went bankrupt, the Bank of Venice faltered, and the powerful House of Fugger, which circulated a newsletter to financiers, spread fear among other European banking houses.

This map by Baptista Boazio traces Drake's route from the Cape Verde Islands to Santo Domingo, Cartagena, and St. Augustine. (On the way home the English fleet stopped at Virginia to check on English colonists put ashore ten months earlier.)

Hakluyt's Works

Hakluyt's fame rests securely on the reputation of the titles that bear his name as author, for it is in these works that he "gathered the scattered fleet" of accounts, journals, and other information, presenting to his countrymen their first coherent view of England's maritime and overseas mercantile achievements.

28. Richard Hakluyt. *Divers Voyages*. London, 1582.

Humphrey Gilbert was granted a patent empowering him to colonize regions of America to the north of Spanish possessions in Florida and Mexico, but was having difficulty raising interest and funds for the project. Hakluyt's *Divers Voyages* was intended as propaganda for the venture, although with an approach subtle enough not to overemphasize Gilbert and his plans

To familiarize his public with the region and England's claims upon it, Hakluyt transcribed original documents, provided accounts of prior English voyages to the New World, and supplied pertinent descriptions of the land from a variety of sources. His presentation was tied together with a carefully framed preface that stated the aims his country ought to pursue: colonization to relieve social distress, discovery of the Northwest Passage, and improvement of English navigation through the establishment of a school for instruction.

This he accomplished in just 120 pages, with a document tailored to appeal to intelligent men who were curious about colonization, but who lacked the time or inclination for extended study.

(Hakluyt Society, First Series, no. 7. Edited by John Winter Jones, 1850.)

29. "The original writings and correspondence of the two Richard Hakluyts." Introduction and notes by E. G. R. Taylor. (Hakluyt Society, First Series, nos. 76 and 77, 1935.)

The "Discourse on Western Planting" was written by Hakluyt in 1584 as a result of his association with Sir Walter Raleigh who was then making plans for a colonial establishment in North America. Addressing this work to Queen Elizabeth, Hakluyt explained in twenty-one chapters how an effective English presence was dependent upon the solid backing of the Crown. Mass emigration, the establishment of several centers of settlement, and the creation of a multi-level society to transplant the seed of English culture to the New World were some of the measures recommended by Hakluyt to avoid expensive and tragic failed efforts. He also took care to underline the political advantages of a secure English foothold in North America to combat the menace of Spain.

This was essentially a private, diplomatic document. It was not published during Hakluyt's lifetime, and it is difficult to assess its contemporary impact.

30. Richard Hakluyt. *The Principall Navigations, Voiages and Discoveries Of The English nation*. London, 1589.

Principall Navigations, published in the winter of 1589, is often regarded as being the first version of Hakluyt's major work of similar title that appeared nine years later. In this present compilation of voyages Hakluyt took care to gather information as near to the original records as possible and to provide citations of origin--a concern with methods of historical research that was rare in his day.

The work itself is divided into three sections: voyages to the south and southeast; voyages to the north and northeast; and voyages to the west.

(Hakluyt Society, Extra Series, no. 39. Introduction by D. B. Quinn and R. A. Skelton. Index by Alison Quinn, 1965.)

31. Richard Hakluyt. *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation*. 3 Vols. London, 1598-1600.

The first volume of this work was published in 1598 and re-issued the following year. In all, three volumes appeared, expanded from the three sections of the 1589 version. Almost everything that Hakluyt had included in *Divers Voyages* of 1582 and *Principall Navigations* of 1589 remained, exceptions being made for "incredibility," i.e., the imaginary travels of Mandeville.

The *Voyages* was used as a guide for exploration; it became an item in East India Company ships stores, copies being supplied to all expeditions. Samuel Purchas was told that in 1607 a fleet in distress off the coast of Africa was guided by the *Voyages* to Sierra Leone. Had Hakluyt's information not been available, the ships would have been compelled to return to England with a loss of £20,000.

(Hakluyt Society. Extra Series, nos. [1-12], 1903-1905.)

CASE IV

The Seventeenth Century

32. Samuel Purchas. *Purchas His Pilgrimes*. London, 1625.

It seems that either one admires Purchas, or one does not. Many of his contemporaries praised him over Hakluyt because he edited out the "inconsequential." His detractors, however, have classified him as an insensitive "hatchet man" who excised relevant detail in favor of the superficial. Whatever history's final judgment, both detractors and admirers are in agreement that he accomplished a prodigious amount of work in an editing effort that was probably a contributing factor to his death a few months after this work was published.

Purchas saw himself as Hakluyt's successor. He apparently purchased Hakluyt's papers from the executors and took upon himself the task of compiling a work that would supersede the *Principall Navigations*. To this end he included works already published as well as new accounts. Indefatigable in search of material but lacking in editorial judgment, Purchas produced a work that was the largest yet issued from an English press.

(Hakluyt Society, Extra Series, nos. [14-33], 1905-1907.)

33. John Ogilby. *America: Being An Accurate Description Of The New World*, ... London, 1670 [i.e., 1671?]

After the publication of *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, no major collection of voyages and travels appeared in Britain before the closing years of the century. Englishmen chose to read the cosmographical descriptions of Ogilby and Peter Heyleyn and reports brought back by "sophisticated" travelers such as diplomats, antiquaries, and tourists.

The works of Exquemelin and Dampier carried the travel account beyond the realm of information into that of popular literature; both were "best sellers."

34. Alexandre Olivier Exquemelin. *Bucaniers of America*. London, 1684.

Exquemelin's story of life among the buccaneers appeared in at least twenty major editions in Dutch, Spanish, English, and French between 1678 and 1800. The first English edition (translated from the Spanish, which had been translated from the Dutch) appeared in 1684. As is the case with all other editions, the introduction sets the tone for the reader--in this case the Spanish are presented as worthy opponents. To cast doubt upon their courage would diminish the bravery of English adventurers whose skirmishes with Spain, the traditional enemy, buoyed the public spirit.

Another English edition appeared in 1741, when the War of Jenkins's Ear placed England once again in direct confrontation with Spain.

35. William Dampier. *A New Voyage Round the World*. London, 1697.

William Dampier was an English buccaneer and circumnavigator. The account of his voyage around the world was filled with exciting detail of riches in faraway places. It was published at a time when England was financially drained and when many solutions to the problem of national debt focused, once again, upon the investment potential of overseas empire.

Dampier's tales captured the public imagination. Three English editions appeared in 1677, and the Library possesses more than twenty others published before 1800.

The Eighteenth Century

At the beginning of the eighteenth century the genre of travel literature, second only to theology in popularity, became firmly established. Although some of these anthologies of adventure were issued in monthly installments affordable to the public, the important collections were lavish and costly. While many are rich in new material, none exhibit the careful organization and sense of purpose of Hakluyt's works, and appear to have been designed solely for entertainment and show. This is logical enough when one considers that the capital for these large and expensive undertakings was most often supplied by the landed gentry, who had new architect-designed libraries to fill.

A major problem for the reader, or course, is that they all appear to have the same title, with only minor variations.

36. [Awnsham Churchill, ed.] *A Collection of Voyages and Travels*, ... London, 1704.

Churchill was a friend of John Locke (who may or may not have been a contributor to this work) and one of the most substantial booksellers of his day. It is not known who initiated or edited the compilation but it is probable that the publishers employed anonymous journeymen writers for the translation and organization of the texts.

While the editor's claim to originality is justified--no material was borrowed from earlier English collections and only a scattering of the accounts were already familiar to the public-- no principle can be discerned in the choice and sequence of the accounts. In spite of its defects, however, Churchill's collection is valuable for the quantity of new material it assembles, and the editors of later collections paid it the compliment of reproducing many of its texts.

37. [Sir Tancred Robinson, ed.] *An Account Of several Late Voyages and Discoveries*. London, 1711.

Although the editor of this volume is not named, it is generally assumed to be the work of Dr. Tancred Robinson in association with his friend Hans Sloan. It was evidently designed to illustrate current knowledge of the two outstanding geographical mysteries, the northern sea passage to East Asia and the existence of a supposed Southern Continent.

One of the difficulties in keeping up with the advances in discovery and exploration in this period lay in the

restrictive nature of two monopolistic commercial organizations, the East India and the Hudson's Bay Companies, who were often accused of serving their own ends through secrecy, rather than advancing knowledge through the dissemination of information. Dr. Robinson especially lamented this state of affairs and the difficulties it caused editors and publishers who were trying to gather the latest information.

The middle years of the century saw a number of large collections either newly published or in new editions. Dedications and subscription lists show that publishers were now addressing themselves to a different class of reader. Naval power had opened the ocean routes to trading fleets from British ports, and the literature of travel now found a larger public, not only those who read for amusement, but also the merchants who had invested in commercial ventures to Africa, Asia, and the Pacific.

38. [Thomas Osborne, comp.] *A Collection of Voyages and Travels*, ... London, 1745.

In 1742 the bookseller Thomas Osborne purchased the printed books from the library of Robert and Edward Harley, Earls of Oxford. The catalogue of the Harleian library, partly compiled by Samuel Johnson and with his preface, was published in 1743-45.

Osborne's *Collection of voyages* was based on Johnson's work and the contents of these two volumes are taken

entirely from the printed sixteenth- and seventeenth-century texts in the Harley collection. While nothing was new, some of these titles had become extremely scarce and reprinting them was of real value. Osborne's compilation, like Churchill's, is a miscellany of rare and interesting narratives, and does not aspire to be a representative collection.

39. [Braddock Mead *alias* John Green, ed.] A New General Collection of Voyages and Travels. London, 1745-1747.

Generally known as Astley's voyages, after bookseller and publisher, Thomas Astley, the editorship of this collection has been attributed to Braddock Mead, *alias* John Green, one of the more colorful geographic figures of the eighteenth century. (Mead's name-change was necessitated by his involvement in a case of kidnapping and forced marriage in Ireland, a hanging offence.)

In terms of his profession, however, Mead has a reputation as a very thorough, if somewhat contentious, geographer who did not mince words in his criticisms of those who failed to assess and analyze their material before setting it before the public. It is by comparing elements of Mead's known style with the methods and approach displayed by this volume that the attribution to Mead has been made.

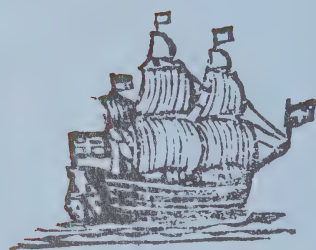
As explained by the editor in his introduction, this work was intended as a systematic collection, an improvement on the methods of his predecessors. His method was to arrange the material in two categories: first journals and accounts, then remarks on the countries visited.

The first and only volume appeared in 1745. Although the work was not completed, it must have attracted considerable contemporary attention, for a French

translation was begun by Abbé Prévost and a German translation (taken mainly from Prévost) appeared in 1747.

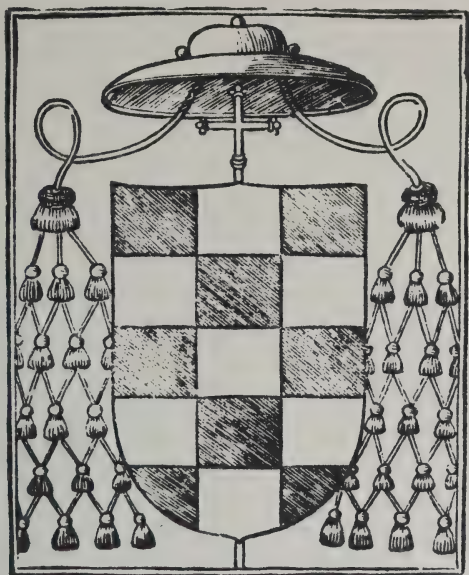
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The Great Polyglot Bibles:

The Impact of Printing on Religion in the
Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries



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The Impact of Printing on Religion in the
Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries**

The John Carter Brown Library
Providence, R.I.
1985

I am greatly indebted to many people for their assistance in preparing this exhibition: to Norman Fiering, Director and Librarian of the John Carter Brown Library for encouragement and support; to Susan L. Danforth, Curator of Maps in the same library, for material assistance while mounting the exhibition and preparing its catalogue; to Jennifer B. Lee, Curator of Printed Books at the John Hay Library, to Mark N. Brown, Curator of Manuscripts in the same library, and to Catherine J. Denning, Curator of the Annmary Brown Memorial Collections, who graciously permitted me to include materials from their libraries' holdings; and to Ann E. Bekins of the John Hay Library, for much help as I investigated the extent of the collections in the John Hay Library. *Gratias ago!*

Robert Mathiesen

The Illusion of a Uniform Bible in the Fifteenth Century

In the Middle Ages, most of Western Christendom knew the Bible only through St. Jerome's Latin translation, which was made at the end of the fourth century and the beginning of the fifth, and which later came to be known as the Vulgate (i.e., "Common") Latin Bible.

For more than one thousand years, the only way to make copies of that Bible was to write them entirely by hand, one copy at a time. Naturally, each copy required many months' labor. About 10,000 manuscripts of the Bible, or of its various books, in Latin have survived. Many of them are now mere fragments. Many more have been entirely lost -- perhaps three or four times more than have survived. It is probably safe to assume that some 50,000 manuscripts of the Bible or its parts in Latin were produced between the early fifth century and the late fifteenth, when printing was invented.

The first printed Bible appeared ca. 1454, in an edition of about 180 copies. During the next fifty years not quite 100 editions were printed of the whole Bible in Latin. The size of a single edition soon increased to at least 500 copies, and even more toward the end of the fifteenth century. Thus not less than 50,000 printed Bibles in Latin were produced within the period of fifty years, in sharp contrast to the thousand years which it had taken to produce roughly the same number of manuscript Bibles in Latin.

A similar comparison may be made between the numerous places where scribes wrote their manuscripts of the Latin Bible and the small number of cities in which printers printed editions of the same text: the 94 printed editions were produced in no more than 16 cities (and 84 of them in just 7 different cities).

Experience soon teaches anyone who works with early manuscripts of the Bible that two manuscripts can hardly be

found which perfectly agree in their texts, and that major textual differences between manuscripts are not at all uncommon. This is just what one might expect, in view of the great diversity of times and places at which these manuscripts were written, and the consequent diversity of the exemplars which these scribes must have copied as they wrote their manuscripts. The printed editions contrast sharply with the manuscripts in this respect, for their texts generally agree closely with one another. This is not only because they were produced by a smaller number of men working in a smaller number of places during a much shorter span of years, but also because almost all later editions are direct or indirect reprints of the first edition, the Gutenberg Bible. Thus the single manuscript which happened to have been used as printer's copy in Gutenberg's workshop directly or indirectly served as the common exemplar for some 50,000 printed Bibles in Latin. Consequently, these printed Bibles are much more uniform in their text than the same number of manuscript Bibles could ever have been.

As these printed Latin Bibles gradually replaced the earlier manuscripts, their uniform text easily led readers to believe that texts of the Bible had always displayed this uniformity. This illusion was strengthened by the fact that the Latin Vulgate Bible, although a translation of many writings composed in various languages (Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek) at various places over a very long period of time, was a translation by a single scholar, using a single language (Latin): most of the linguistic and stylistic differences between the various books of the Bible were smoothed out by St. Jerome's methods of translation.

The truly interested scholar could have penetrated this illusion of Biblical uniformity, had he wished to investigate the matter. Earlier churchmen, such as Eusebius of Caesarea and St. Jerome himself, had written extensively on the lack of Biblical uniformity in their time, and these writings were widely available. Moreover, there were a few early printed editions of the Bible which did not reprint the text of the Gutenberg Bible, but took one or another manuscript for printer's copy. (One such edition may be

seen in this exhibition.)

That hardly anyone cared to investigate the matter is suggestive. In fact, the illusion of Biblical uniformity was extremely convenient. Scholastic theology, which still dominated the universities at the time, rests on a close, almost microscopic examination of the text of the Bible in its entirety. Its conclusions can be no more reliable, and no more uniform in their applicability, than the Biblical texts on which they are grounded. The same is true of other fields of knowledge, such as political, ethical, social or economic doctrine, insofar as they were still based on theology at the time. Biblical uniformity was not merely an illusion fostered by the invention of a new technology for producing copies of books; it was a necessary prerequisite for much of the intellectual work carried out in Western Europe from the high Middle Ages well into the seventeenth century.

However, the same new technology which unwittingly fostered an illusion of Biblical uniformity in the late fifteenth century, unwittingly challenged and eventually dispelled that same illusion during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as printers began to publish the other early versions of the Bible in various exotic languages, from manuscripts acquired in the more remote parts of Christendom. At first, such texts were published in separate editions; but scholars soon made it clear that they would purchase and use editions which published all accessible versions of the Bible in close juxtaposition, so that one could easily compare them to one another. It was an age of intense theological controversies, and these could have far-reaching consequences (in a fashion that strikes many of us as bizarre today); scholars and polemicists hoped to find support for their positions in these exotic versions of the Bible, even if they could not find it in the familiar Latin text. Thus a strong market was created for Polyglot Bibles, on the one hand, and for critical texts of the individual versions (with variant readings from the best manuscripts), on the other hand.

Once these Polyglot Bibles were in the hands of many scholars, the extent of the differences between the various versions, and even between the various manuscripts of any given version, came to be widely appreciated. These differences could be found not only in the text of any individual book of the Bible, but also in the "tables of contents" (so to speak) which specified which books belonged to the Bible, and which did not. (These different "tables of contents" are technically known as the various Canons of Scripture.) It came as something of a shock to learn that other branches of Christianity had books in their Bibles which were absent from the familiar editions of the Bible in Latin, and that they lacked certain books which were part of the Canon of Scripture in Western Europe.

This new knowledge presented scholastic theology with an almost intractable difficulty, which could be overcome only by a principled decision to rely on some extra-Biblical source of authority to determine the true Canon of Scripture and the true text of the Bible. Western Christianity eventually made this decision: Protestantism opted for the inner conviction of the faithful, Catholicism for the authority of the institutional Church; each, of course, appealed directly to the authority of God which it saw expressed in this way. Each solution made it easier to argue for non-theological methods and sources of knowledge in other areas of scholarship, and facilitated the rise of other, non-scholastic approaches to the solution of theological problems.

1. *Die Cronica van der hilliger Stat van Coellen.*
Cologne: Johann Koelhoff, the Younger, 1499. Fo.

Acquired before 1910.

Goff C-476, JCB(3)1:32, JCB/BrU 11, 11a.

The anonymous compiler of *The Chronicle of the Holy City of Cologne* included a long section under the title "On the craft of printing: when, how, and by whom the remarkable craft of printing books was discovered." This section begins and ends with a strongly worded defense of the freedom of the press, with respect to vernacular printing as well as printing in Latin. This was a burning question at the time in Cologne, which was one of the first cities to institute censorship of the press. Embedded in the middle of this defense is the testimony of Ulrich Zell ("through whom the craft first came to Cologne," and who in all likelihood learned it in Gutenberg's workshop) about the invention of printing. According to his testimony, in 1450 "books began to be printed, and the first book that was printed was the Bible in Latin, and it was printed in heavy type, like the type in which Missals are now printed." This Bible was printed at Mainz by Johann Gutenberg, in partnership with Johann Fust and ably assisted by Peter Schoeffer.

2. [*Biblia latina.*]

[Mainz: Johann Gutenberg, Johann Fust & Peter Schoeffer? ca. 1454?]

Fo (vellum). 2 ff., recovered from a binding.

Purchased 1912.

D&M 6076, Goff B-526, JCB(3)1:4, JCBAR 13:4.

Only two of the earliest printed editions of the Latin Bible were "printed in heavy type, like the type in which Missals are now printed," as Ulrich Zell described Gutenberg's first book. Although neither of these two editions contains any statement of when or where it was printed, scholars have been able to show that one of them was printed from a copy of the other, and thus must be later than the other. Shown here are two conjoint leaves on

vellum from a lost copy of the earlier of the two editions, the book now known as the Gutenberg Bible. This fragment is from the book of Isaiah. It is in such poor condition because it was later used as material for binding some other book.

3. *[Biblia latina.]*
Mainz: Johann Fust & Peter Schoeffer, 1462.
Fo (vellum). 2 vol.

Acquired 1884 by Harold Brown.

D&M 6080, Goff B-529, JCB(3)1:6, JCB/BrU 3,
Winship p. 21.

4. *Biblia cum tabula noviter edita.*
Venice: Simon Bevilaqua, 1494. 4o.

Acquired 1851 by John Carter Brown, a gift of
Nicholas Brown.

D&M 6089 note, Goff B-597, JCB(3)1:24, JCB/BrU
34, Winship p. 21.

During the rest of the fifteenth century, as the craft of printing spread from Mainz throughout Europe, 93 further editions of the Latin Vulgate were printed. Almost all of these editions are descendants of the first edition, and carefully reprint its text. Shown here are two of these later editions: the fourth edition, printed in 1462, and a much later edition, printed in 1494. Each of them is open to the book called the Prayer of Solomon, a text deriving from III Kings 8:22-31, yet never officially accepted as a separate

book of the Bible by any branch of Christianity. It is found as a separate book, between Ecclesiasticus and Isaiah, in the Gutenberg Bible (probably because it was in the manuscript Bible which happened to be available for Gutenberg to use). From that edition it descended to most of the other early printed Latin Bibles.

5. [*Prophetæ*, in Latin.]
[Europe, ca. 1100 A.D.]
Ms (vellum). 1 f., recovered from a binding.

Purchased 1984.

Richard O'Gorman, "An Unknown Leaf of the Vulgate Old Testament," *Manuscripta* 16(1972), 174-176.

Lent by courtesy of the John Hay Library.

As noted above, the Bible could circulate only in manuscript before the invention of printing. Because of practical considerations of size, many of these manuscripts contained only parts of the Bible, usually just a few closely related books. Manuscripts of the full Bible seem to have been rare at first. Only ca. 800 A.D. did they become at all common in Western Europe, and in other parts of Christendom they generally remained rare up to the time when printed Bibles displaced manuscripts. Shown here is a fragment from a lost manuscript which almost certainly did not contain the whole Bible, but only the sixteen books of the Prophets. It is in such poor condition because it, like the leaves from the Gutenberg Bible shown earlier, was later used to strengthen the binding of some other book.

6. *Psalterium cum apparatu vulgari firmitur oppresso / Lateynisch Psalter mit dem Teutschen darbey getruckt.* Metz: Caspar Hochfeder, 1513. 4o.

Acquired 1885 by Rush C. Hawkins.

D&M II, p. 483 note, AmBM 166.

Lent by courtesy of the Annmary Brown Memorial.

There were, to be sure, a number of translations of the Latin Vulgate, or of certain of its books such as the Psalter or the Gospels, into a number of Western European vernacular languages. None of these translations, however, had anywhere near the circulation of the Latin Vulgate; and as translations of the Vulgate, they were hardly able to challenge its dominant position. Shown here is a relatively late edition of a pre-Lutheran German translation of the Vulgate Psalter. The Latin original is in the center of the page, in larger type; the German translation is in the margins, in smaller type.

7. [*Biblia latina.*]
Piacenza: Johannes Petrus de Ferratis, 1475. 4o.

Acquired 1892 by Rush C. Hawkins.

D&M II, p. 910 note (5), Goff B-542, AmBM 377.

Lent by courtesy of the Annmary Brown Memorial.

This is a copy of one of the very few early editions of the Latin Vulgate which is not a reprint of the Gutenberg Bible, but was printed directly from a manuscript. It is

probably the most unusual of all such editions, for the books of the Bible are given in an order found in no other edition, nor in any known manuscript: the Psalter comes between II Chronicles and I Esdras (Ezra); and in the New Testament, the Gospels are followed by the Pauline Epistles, the Apocalypse, the seven General Epistles, and the Book of Acts, in that order. The Prayer of Solomon, present in the Gutenberg Bible, is absent here, as are the Prayer of Manasses and IV Esdras. However, Psalm 151, which is not in the Gutenberg Bible (nor in modern Catholic or Protestant Bibles), is found in this edition, at the end of the Psalter.

8. *Biblia.*

Venice: Hieronymus de Paganinis, 1492. 8o.

Acquired 1957, a gift of Philip D. Sherman.

D&M 6087, Goff B-594.

Lent by courtesy of the John Hay Library.

All early printed editions of the Latin Vulgate include St. Jerome's prefaces, which give a great deal of miscellaneous information on early translations of the Bible into various languages, ways in which early Biblical manuscripts differed from one another, and even early differences of opinion as to the canonicity of certain books of the Bible. In addition, many of the editions from about ca. 1490 on contain a brief treatise on the most important translators of the Bible, from the Seventy Two Translators who rendered the Hebrew Old Testament into Greek down to St. Jerome. This copy is open to the beginning of that treatise.

9. Eusebius Caesariensis.
Historia ecclesiastica.
[Utrecht: Nicolaus Ketelaer & Gerardus de Leempt,]
1474. Fo.

Acquired before 1910 by Rush C. Hawkins.

Goff E-124, AmBM 463.

Lent by courtesy of the Annmary Brown Memorial.

Bishop Eusebius of Caesarea's *History of the Church* contains even more information than St. Jerome's prefaces concerning questions of divergent Biblical texts and Canons of Scripture as well as various translations of the Bible. Six editions of this work (in a Latin translation) were published during the fifteenth century, and many more during the sixteenth. Shown here is a copy of the first edition, open to Book III, where Eusebius summarizes his account of disputes on the Canon of Scripture for the New Testament. Books accepted as canonical by most churches include the Four Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, the Epistles of Paul, the First Epistle of John, and the First Epistle of Peter. The other five General Epistles (James, II Peter, II-III John, Jude) are "disputed, yet familiar to most." There are also many spurious works, such as the Gospel of Thomas, the Acts of Paul, the Epistle of Barnabas, or the Revelation of Peter. The Apocalypse, or Revelation of John, is accepted as canonical by some churches, but rejected as spurious by other churches.

The Rise of Printing in Exotic Alphabets

One prerequisite for the production of a Polyglot Bible is the ability to print in exotic alphabets. For the first two

decades or so after the invention of printing, books were printed in the Latin alphabet only. The first books printed wholly or in large part in other alphabets seem to have appeared ca. 1475 in Italy, and the alphabets in question were Greek and Hebrew. Now it was possible to print parallel texts of the Bible in Hebrew, Greek and Latin. As early as ca. 1498 the eminent Venetian printer, Aldus Manutius, was contemplating such an edition, but he never succeeded in publishing it.

Meanwhile, fonts of type were being cut for other exotic alphabets. Slavic books began to be published in the Glagolitic alphabet as early as 1483, and in the Cyrillic alphabet from 1491 on. Books were first printed in the Armenian alphabet in 1512. However, almost all of the books published in these three alphabets were printed by Slavs or by Armenians for their own use, and so escaped the notice of contemporary Western scholars. (However, Andreas Torresanus, the father-in-law of Aldus Manutius, had a font of Glagolitic type; he and his heirs printed three books with its aid in 1493, 1527 and 1561.)

The remaining fonts of type which were cut for exotic alphabets were the work of Western typescutters, acting for Western scholars: Ethiopic type first appeared in 1513, Arabic type in 1514, Syriac type briefly in 1539, and permanently in 1555, type for the Tamil and Malayalam languages in 1578, Samaritan type in 1593, Runic type in 1611, Georgian type in 1629, Coptic type in 1636, and type for Wulfila's Gothic alphabet in 1665. The late sixteenth century also saw the appearance of fonts for the special varieties of the Latin alphabet used for Anglo-Saxon and for Irish Gaelic.

10. [Psalterium Chaldaicum sive potius Aethiopicum.]
Rome: Marcellus Silber, 1513. 40.

Acquired before 1910 by Rush C. Hawkins.

D&M 3560, Adams B-1481, AmBM 229.

Lent by courtesy of the Annmary Brown Memorial.

This is the first book ever printed in Ethiopic. It was the work of Johann Potken, a German whose curiosity was aroused by the language during a visit to Rome, where he observed some Christian pilgrims from Ethiopia worshipping in their own ecclesiastical language. After much effort, he acquired enough of that language from them to publish this volume, which contains the Psalter (with appended Canticles) as well as the Song of Songs. Potken's preface and colophons in Latin are fascinating documents: in addition to a certain amount of odd information on Ethiopia and its many peoples, they also mix elements of Ethiopian legendary history with Western legends about Prester John -- all of which led Potken to the conclusion that the ecclesiastical language of Ethiopia was the true "Chaldean" language, once spoken by the patriarch Abraham and his forefathers in Ur of the Chaldees, before Abraham went into the land of Canaan. In fact, the language is Ethiopic, otherwise known as Ge'ez; although it is a Semitic language, and thus a close relative of Hebrew and Aramaic, it was never the language of Ur.

11. *Psalterium Hebraeum, Graecum, Arabicum et Chaldeum, cum tribus latinis interpretationibus et glossis.*

Genoa: Petrus Paulus Porrus, 1516. Fo (vellum).

Acquired before 1865 by John Carter Brown.

D&M 1411 (cf. 1634, 2401, 4592, 5080, 6097),
Adams B-1370, Hough 38, JCB(3)1:64, JCB(2)1:51,
52.

The second book ever printed with the use of Arabic type is also a Psalter, and is the first polyglot book of the Bible ever to be published. Its languages are Aramaic, Hebrew, Latin (the Vulgate), Greek, and Arabic; separate Latin translations of the latter two languages are also provided. It was the work of Bishop Agostino Giustiniani of Nebbio. In his preface, he promises that he will publish the whole Bible in this form. He was unable to keep this promise, but his manuscript of the New Testament in these languages survives.

The Psalter is open to Psalm 8:4-5, "What is man, that thou art mindful of him? and the son of man, that thou visitest him? For thou hast made him a little lower than the angels ..." The Hebrew version reads "... a little lower than God ..." Giustiniani has devoted a long marginal note to this difference, the gist of which seems to be that the Hebrew reading shows that this verse foretells the coming of the Son of Man, Jesus Christ, since mankind in general cannot pretend to so exalted a station as the Hebrew reading would otherwise suggest.

The John Carter Brown Library has a second copy of this Psalter, on paper, acquired in 1846 by John Carter Brown.

12. [*Novum instrumentum omne.*]
Basel: Johann Froben, 1516. Fo.

Acquired after 1826, before 1843.

D&M 4591, Adams B-1679, BrU(3)146⁷.

Lent by courtesy of the John Hay Library.

Although books began to be printed in Greek ca. 1475, it was not until 1516 that the first edition of the Greek New Testament was published. (The only book of the Bible to have been published in Greek before that was the Psalter, in several editions from 1481 on.) This edition of the New Testament was the work of Erasmus of Rotterdam, made in great haste from a few late, poor manuscripts to oblige one of his printers; as Erasmus himself described it, it was "precipitated rather than edited" (*praecipitatum verius quam editum*). For the Revelation of John, Erasmus had only one manuscript, and that had lost its final leaf; thus the Greek text of the last six verses of that book represents Erasmus' own attempt to supply the missing text by translating the Latin Vulgate back into Greek. Unfortunately, his attempt was less than perfectly successful: some of his readings here cannot be found in any Greek manuscript. The Latin parallel text is not the Vulgate, but Erasmus' own new translation from the Greek.

Shown here is I John 5:7-8, which in this edition reads:

"For there are three that bear record, the Spirit, and the water, and the blood: and these three agree in one."

This is the reading of all early Greek manuscripts and all early versions except the Latin Vulgate. The Latin Vulgate is the source of the more familiar text of these verses (added words are italicized):

"For there are three that bear record *in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost: and these three are one. And there are three that bear witness in earth, the Spirit, and the water, and the blood: and these three agree in one.*"

So great a change in a key proof-text for the doctrine of the Trinity made Erasmus' edition a rock of offence to many.

13. *Sacrae Scripturae veteris novaeque omnia.*
Venice: In aedibus Aldi et Andreae soceri, 1518. Fo.

Acquired before 1862 by John Carter Brown.

D&M 4594, Adams B-976, JCB(3)1:72.

This is the first edition of the whole Bible in Greek. From its preface we learn that Aldus Manutius had planned it, and had edited much of its text before his death in 1515. His partner, Andreas Torresanus, saw to its completion and had it published after Aldus' death. To judge by the quality of the Old Testament text, Aldus seems to have had access to good, early manuscripts of the Greek Bible, in marked contrast to Erasmus. Unfortunately, Aldus seems not to have been able to edit the New Testament before his death, for the text of the New Testament in this edition follows that of Erasmus in nearly every particular, including a certain number of printer's errors. Shown here is I John 5:7-8, with the shorter text as in Erasmus' edition.

Cardinal Jiménez's Polyglot Bible

Meanwhile, the first of the four great Polyglot Bibles was slowly coming off the presses of Arnao Gúillen de Brocar in the Spanish university city of Alcalá de Henares, near Madrid. The first of its six volumes to be completed was volume 5, containing the New Testament in Greek and Latin, as well as a dictionary of Biblical Greek. This volume was finished on January 10, 1514. Volume 6, containing a grammar and various dictionaries of Hebrew and Aramaic, appeared about a year later, on May 31, 1515. The remaining four volumes, containing the Old Testament in Hebrew, Greek and Latin (with an early Aramaic Targum, or free translation, of the Pentateuch), took about two years

more to complete. The printer's colophon at the end of volume 4 is dated July 10, 1517.

The moving spirit behind this undertaking was Cardinal Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros, one of the foremost Spanish statesmen of his age. This enlightened and remarkable man, a Franciscan monk who was also Archbishop of Toledo and Primate of Spain, as well as Inquisitor General, and who for a time had served also as Regent of the Kingdom of Castile, founded the University at Alcalá de Henares (otherwise known as Compluto) in 1499. In 1502 he began to assemble the team of scholars in Hebrew, Greek and Latin who would edit his Polyglot Bible, and to acquire or borrow the oldest and best available manuscripts for their use. He died at a very advanced age in 1517, only weeks after the last volume of his Bible had been printed.

To print a book is one thing; to publish and distribute it, another. Cardinal Jiménez's death obscured the legal ownership of the copies of the Polyglot Bible, with the result that they began to be sold no earlier than 1520. Thus, by a quirk of fate, the first texts of the Greek Bible to be printed were not the first ones published, since two editions of Erasmus' Greek New Testament and the Aldine Greek Bible were both printed and published during the intervening years, thereby assuming the position of standard texts, against which all subsequent editions would be judged for many years to come. This was unfortunate, since Jiménez's text of the Greek Bible, resting on a foundation of very good, early manuscripts, was incomparably superior to Erasmus' hastily edited text of the Greek New Testament, and somewhat better than Aldus' posthumously published text of the Greek Old Testament.

Only 600 copies or so of this Polyglot Bible were printed, and many of them were soon destroyed, when the ship sank which was carrying a consignment of them to Italy for sale there. Perhaps half of the remaining copies are still extant today. The first of the great Polyglot Bibles has always been a rare book as well as an important one.

14. [*Biblia polyglotta*.]
Alcalá de Henares: A. Guillen de Brocar, 1514-17.
Fo. 6 vol.

Acquired before 1845 by John Carter Brown.

D&M 1412 (cf. 2402, 4593, 5082, 6098), Adams
B-968 (6 entries), Norton 27 (state A),
JCB(3)1:58-60, Winship p. 20.

Three volumes of Cardinal Jiménez's Polyglot are shown here. Volume 5, the first to be printed, is open to I John 5:7-8, where a marginal note discusses the authority *not* of the longer form of these verses, but of the last clause of verse 8, with reference to St. Thomas Aquinas' opinion on its proper wording. Note the unusual Greek type, which is regarded by many as the finest Greek font ever cut. Note, too, the absence of the traditional Greek accentuation. According to a preface in this volume, the accents were deliberately omitted because they were lacking in the oldest Greek manuscript used by the editors, and thus presumably were not used in the earliest manuscripts of the New Testament.

Volume 1 is open to the story of the Tower of Babel (Genesis 11:1-9), to show the maximum array of languages. The Greek version is in the inner column, with a supralinear translation. The Hebrew version is in the outer column, with the roots of the Hebrew words given in the outer margin. St. Jerome's Latin Vulgate occupies the center column. Since it was originally made from the Hebrew, it can serve as a translation for the text in the outer column. Note the small raised letters of the Latin alphabet in the outer column, and observe how they are used to link each Hebrew word with its root in the margin, and also with its Latin equivalent in the middle column. The Aramaic Targum, with its roots in the margin and its own Latin translation, occupies the foot of each page in the first volume.

Volume 4 is open to the book of Daniel, chapter 3, where the Greek version has a long passage absent from the Hebrew. Note how the editors alter the number of columns in the middle of the page in order to deal with this problem. A page such as this brings home to the reader the important fact that the Greek and Hebrew texts of the Old Testament are not in perfect agreement, and may at times differ radically from each other.

Christopher Plantin's Polyglot Bible

The second of the great Polyglot Bibles is the only one which was undertaken on the initiative of its printer. Christopher Plantin was one of the most interesting and important printers of all time. Fortunately, we know more about him than anyone could reasonably have expected to, because the printing office which he founded remained in his family, with its materials and its records intact, until the nineteenth century, at which time its owner converted it into a museum of early printing. Thus we are still able to read Plantin's business records, and all his personal and business correspondence, from the years when he was publishing the Polyglot Bible.

The Netherlands were at that time under Spanish rule, which was concerned to foster Catholicism, and to destroy the several kinds of Protestantism which has taken root there. Plantin was outwardly a conforming Catholic, but inwardly an adherent of a very small and secretive Protestant sect called The Family of Love. His future, and even his life, was thus in jeopardy as long as he remained at Antwerp. A less resourceful man might have sought to emigrate, but Plantin decided to remain, and to make his position unassailable by winning a commission as Royal Printer to the King of Spain, printing Catholic liturgical books and Bibles! It is a measure of Plantin as a man that he was able to carry out this audacious plan while

remaining a member of The Family of Love; that in the process he converted to his views the learned Spanish theologian, Benito Arias Montano, who had been sent by the King of Spain especially to supervise Plantin's work and to ensure its orthodoxy; and that on this improbable foundation he built a stable business which would endure and support his descendants for some three centuries. Plantin's first publication for the King of Spain -- the cornerstone of his bold gamble -- was the Polyglot Bible.

This gamble was not without its cost. "Now that this Bible is finished, I am astounded at what I undertook, a task I would not do again even if I received 12,000 crowns as a gift," wrote Plantin to a correspondent in 1572. Originally meant to be a mere reprint of Cardinal Jiménez's Polyglot, even then a rare and costly book, it soon grew to become an almost unmanageable drain on Plantin's resources. Somewhat more than 1,200 copies were printed, in a larger format and more lavishly laid out than Jiménez's Polyglot. Relatively few new Biblical texts were added: only a number of Aramaic Targums for books of the Old Testament other than the first five (the Pentateuch), and the Peshitta (i.e. "Simple") version of the Syriac New Testament. The added Targums, however, were the unpublished work of Cardinal Jiménez's team of scholars, which Montano was able to borrow from the University Library at Alcalá de Henares; and the Syriac New Testament had recently been published by J. A. Widmanstadt at Vienna. The scholars who worked on Plantin's Polyglot were principally engaged in correcting these texts against a small number of additional manuscripts, and in compiling the scholarly apparatus which in the end would completely fill three of the Polyglot's eight volumes.

15. *Biblia sacra Hebraice, Chaldaice, Graece et Latine.*
Antwerp: Christopher Plantin, 1569-72. Fo. 8 vol.

Acquired before 1845 by John Carter Brown.

D&M 1422 (cf. 2408, 4637, 5101, 6156, 8950),
Adams B-970, JCB(3)1:241, JCB(STL)12, Winship
p. 20.

Two of the Polyglot's eight volumes are shown here;
three others can be seen later in the exhibition.

Volume 1 is open to Psalm 8. Note how the texts which
occupied three narrow columns on one page of Cardinal
Jiménez's Polyglot, are lavishly spread over two much
larger pages in Plantin's edition.

Volume 5 is open to the end of I Peter and the
beginning of II Peter. Note how II Peter (like II-III John,
Jude, and Revelation) lacks a Syriac version. The Canon of
Scripture normally accepted by the Syrian Churches, and
reflected in the Peshitta Syriac version of the Bible, excludes
these five books from the New Testament. It is Plantin's
Polyglot that first made scholars aware how greatly the
Canon of Scripture could differ in the various branches of
Christianity.

Elias Hutter's Polyglot Bible

Elias Hutter was Professor of Hebrew at the University
of Leipzig at the end of the sixteenth century. He made a
name for himself by his edition of the Hebrew Bible, printed
at Hamburg by Johann Saxo in 1587. Hutter had special
"hollow" Hebrew types cut for his editions, to contrast with
the usual "solid" types, so that the beginning student of the
language could see at a glance which letters in any Hebrew
word belong to its root, and which pertain to its inflections:
root letters are printed in solid type, inflectional letters in
hollow type, and any root letters which have vanished as
the word is inflected are given in small type above the line.

Encouraged by the warm welcome which his Hebrew editions received, Hutter began to publish a Polyglot Bible in 1599, but the project was cut short by his death in 1602 or 1603. Only his New Testament in twelve languages and the first eight books (Genesis-Ruth) of his Old Testament in six languages ever left the press.

Hutter's polyglot editions do not belong to the line of development which connects the four great Polyglot Bibles, for two reasons. First, the majority of versions included in them are not ancient, but represent late Medieval translations from the Latin Vulgate. Second, Hutter did not reproduce his texts accurately from the sources available to him, but freely altered them to make them agree with one another (and, on occasion, to make them support some point of doctrine). Thus, Hutter's Polyglots conceal, rather than reveal, the extent to which the ancient versions of the Bible can differ from one another.

16. [SPR THLYM] *sive Liber Psalmorum*.
Hamburg: Johannes Saxo, 1586. Fo.

Acquired 1896, a gift of Jacob Shartenberg.

Apparently unrecorded (cf. Adams B-1363).

Lent by courtesy of the John Hay Library.

Although Brown does not possess Hutter's 1587 Hebrew Bible, it has long owned a copy of a Hebrew Psalter published by him in 1586. This volume is one of a large number of scholarly books on Judaism given in 1896 by Jacob Shartenberg of Pawtucket, to form the nucleus of a "Semitic library" (as the Librarian's *Annual Report* put it) at Brown. No bibliographer seems to have recorded this edition, which displaces the 1587 Bible as the first book

printed with Hutter's special Hebrew types.

In his lengthy Preface, Hutter declares that he wishes to further "the study of the Word of God and of languages," and admonishes his readers: "Languages are the sources of Truth, and they alone (to use Luther's words) teach whatever in any way partakes of the Divine. He that neglects them, neglects all that they bring with them. Without languages as sources, Sacred Scripture -- I now remain silent about the remaining fields of study and all the professions -- can neither be studied nor taught, neither be preserved nor usefully and fruitfully propagated ..."

17. *Novum Testamentum Domini Nostri Jesu Christi Syriace, Ebraice, Graece, Latine, Germanice, Bohemice, Italice, Hispanice, Gallice, Anglice, Danice, Polonice.*
Nuremberg, 1599. Fo. 2 vol.

Acquired 1844 by John Carter Brown.

D&M 1430 (cf. 1360, 2188, 3157, 3741, 4214 note, 4656, 5111, 5597, 7390, 8474, 8955), Adams B-1718, B-1719, JCB(3)1:371, Winship p. 20.

Hutter's New Testament, in two volumes, gives twelve versions in six columns spread across two pages: Syriac (in Hebrew characters) and Italian, Hebrew and Spanish, Greek and French, Latin and English, German and Danish, and Czech ("Bohemian") and Polish, respectively. It is open to Acts 20:28, where Hutter has characteristically altered the text of all twelve versions for doctrinal reasons: the words in parentheses have no warrant in his sources.

The John Carter Brown Library also has Hutter's Polyglot Old Testament, acquired together with the New

Testament: cf. JCB(3)1:371.

Critical Work on the Greek Text of the Bible

At the same time as these Polyglot Bibles were being compiled and printed, other scholars were working to improve the available texts of the more common ancient versions in Hebrew, Greek and Latin. (Since our space is limited, we will confine our attention to the Greek Bible here.) This work led to the critical examination of the available manuscripts and printed editions of these texts. It soon became clear that these manuscripts differed from one another much more than had generally been suspected; and with the publication of these variant readings in some of the volumes shown here, and eventually in the scholarly apparatus to Walton's Polyglot Bible, every scholar came to appreciate how great had been the illusion of a uniform text of the Bible.

18. *Novum Testamentum Graece.*
Strasbourg: Wolfius Cephalaeus, 1524. 8o.

Purchased 1923.

D&M 4600 (cf. 4602), Adams B-1649 (cf. B-977).

Lent by courtesy of the John Hay Library.

This early edition of the Greek New Testament is of interest not only for its excellent typography and its convenient size (all of Erasmus' editions are in folio), but

also for its preface, in which the printer speaks of how Christian piety, long extinguished, "is now beginning wonderously to be restored, as the service of the craft of printing lends great aid" (*mirandum in modum restorescit hodie, non parum adiuvante Chalcographicae beneficio*). This copy once belonged to the famous Biblical scholar Caspar René Gregory.

Two years later the same printer issued the Greek Old Testament in three volumes uniform with this one, thus producing the third edition of the full Bible in Greek, after Cardinal Jiménez's Polyglot and the Aldine Greek Bible. Here the effects of Luther's teaching are more fully seen, for the Old Testament books not now extant in Hebrew, and for that reason excluded by Luther from the Canon of Scripture, are placed together in a group by themselves at the end of the Old Testament.

19. *Novum Testamentum iam quintum accuratissima cura recognitum.*

Basel: Hieronymus Froben & Nicolaus Episcopus, 1535. Fo.

Acquired 1785, a gift of the [Baptist] Education Society, Bristol, England.

D&M 4609, Adams B-1683, BrU(3)146⁸, BrU(2) p. 29, BrU(1) p. 6.

Lent by courtesy of the John Hay Library.

This is the fifth edition of Erasmus' Greek New Testament, the last to be published during his lifetime. It gives a better text than the first edition, for Erasmus had had opportunities to examine more and better manuscripts during the intervening years, but it still retains the faulty

six verses at the end of Revelation. In contrast to the first edition, the longer form of I John 5:7-8 is given in this edition (following the text of Cardinal Jiménez's Polyglot). Note how this change, like all such changes, is made without editorial comment in the text: Erasmus sees no reason to publish any information about variant readings in different manuscripts.

20. *Novum Jesu Christi Domini Nostri Testamentum.*
Paris: Robert Estienne, 1550. Fo.

Purchased after 1947 (the Frederick S. Peck Fund).

D&M 4622, Adams B-1661.

Lent by courtesy of the John Hay Library.

This edition of the Greek New Testament, printed at Paris with Claude Garamond's outstanding Royal fonts of Greek type (*greco du Roi*), is the first ever to publish variant readings to the text. The text is basically that of Erasmus' last edition, with the longer form of I John 5:7-8. The variant readings, taken from sixteen sources, are given in the inner margin. Slightly more than two thousand variant readings are published in this edition. It is open here to Acts 15:20, 29, where two manuscripts add the so-called Negative Golden Rule, "Do not unto others what you would not have them do unto you" (page 240, the two long variants marked with an asterix). One of these manuscripts cited here is the famous Codex Bezae, a sixth-century manuscript which is easily the most peculiar of all known Biblical manuscripts. At least three other Greek manuscripts are known which have this variant in both places, and two more which have it in verse 29 only, as does Cardinal Jiménez's Polyglot.

This edition was used until the nineteenth century as a kind of standard by publishers of Greek New Testaments, and its text is still referred to as the "Received Text" (*Textus receptus*) in England and the United States.

21. *Divinae Scripturae, nempe Veteris ac Novi Testamenti, omnia.*

Frankfurt: Andreas Wechel's heirs, 1597. Fo.

Acquired after 1847, before 1850, a gift of John Carter Brown.

D&M 4653, Adams B-979.

Lent by courtesy of the John Hay Library.

This edition of the entire Bible in Greek is one of the best products of sixteenth-century critical scholarship. Its Old Testament follows that of the Aldine Greek Bible; its New Testament reproduces the text of Estienne's 1550 edition. The extensive variant readings, keyed to the text by raised numerals, are taken from Wolfius Cephalaeus' edition of the Greek Bible, the Vatican edition of the Greek Old Testament published in 1587, and the two great sixteenth-century Polyglot Bibles. In one respect, this edition represents a step backward from Estienne's 1550 edition, for the sources are not distinguished in the notes: a simple label *al.* "others" suffices. However, the variants are often critically assessed, in that some are characterized as *vitiose* "corrupt," others as *melius* "better." *Ex Hebr.* "from the Hebrew" marks readings with parallels in the Hebrew text.

The John Hay Library has a second copy of this edition, acquired after 1826, but before 1843.

Guy-Michel Le Jay's Polyglot Bible

The third of the great Polyglot Bibles owes its existence to Guy-Michel Le Jay, an Advocate in Parliament, who devoted more than seventeen years of his life and spent more than 100,000 crowns of his own fortune to complete it. It is difficult to imagine a more imposing product of the printer's art than the ten massive volumes of this Bible, each printed on paper of exceptional size and weight, and containing some 800 pages on the average. (The two volumes on display thus represent only one fifth of the whole Bible.) It was printed at Paris by Antoine Vitré, who seems to have had some of the more exotic typefonts cut especially for this project. His Samaritan font, in particular, is the second ever cut for that alphabet.

This is the only one of the four great Polyglot Bibles which must be judged a failure. Le Jay lacked the linguistic knowledge necessary to supervise the work of the scholars whom he hired to prepare the texts for the printer, with the result that at least some of the texts are demonstrably flawed, and none of them can be trusted without independent verification. In addition, although Le Jay published his Polyglot for the use of Catholic scholars, he neglected the authorized edition of the Latin Vulgate, printed at Rome in 1592 as the sole authentic text, which all Catholics were obliged to use. Instead, he reprinted the rather different text given in Plantin's Polyglot Bible. Moreover, Le Jay's volumes are too large for convenient use, and too awkwardly arranged; and it is necessary to have two volumes open at once if one wishes to examine all the versions of any part of the Old Testament. Finally, Le Jay's Polyglot is the only one to lack any scholarly apparatus. Consequently, it never sold well, and within twelve years was entirely driven from the market by the fourth and last of the great Polyglot Bibles, newly published at London. In the end, many copies of Le Jay's Polyglot were sold as waste paper.

22. *Biblia 1. Hebraica, 2. Samaritana, 3. Chaldaica, 4. Graeca, 5. Syriaca, 6. Latina, 7. Arabica.*
Paris: Antoine Vitré, 1629-45. Fo. 9 vol. in 10.

Acquired before 1845 by John Carter Brown.

D&M 1442 (cf. 1646, 2414, 4688, 5128, 6219, 7927, 8964), JCB(STL)28, Winship p. 20.

Two volumes are shown here, each open to the story of the Tower of Babel (Genesis 11:1-9), for which this Polyglot gives eight ancient versions.

Volume 1, on the left, reprints the texts in Plantin's Polyglot: the Hebrew, the Latin Vulgate, the Greek Septuagint, and (at the foot of the page) an Aramaic Targum of the Hebrew; the latter two have their own Latin translations.

Volume 6 (numbered "7" by the binder of this set), on the right, gives new versions, printed for the first time from manuscripts: the Peshitta (or "Simple") Syriac on the left-hand page, an Arabic text on the right-hand page, and at the foot of the page the Samaritan-Hebrew Pentateuch with its Samaritan-Aramaic Targum. (Each is translated into Latin for the benefit of most users.) This is the first appearance in print of the Arabic and Samaritan versions, as well as the Syriac Old Testament. The Peshitta Syriac New Testament had already been published in Plantin's Polyglot.

Brian Walton's Polyglot Bible

The fourth and last of the great Polyglot Bibles was compiled by a team of English scholars, organized and led

by Brian Walton, who afterward was appointed Bishop of Chester. It is the most accurate and best-equipped of the four, for it offers better texts from better manuscripts than any of the other three, with extensive collections of variant readings and a very solid scholarly apparatus. It contains two ancient versions which had not been included in any earlier Polyglot: Ethiopic (for the Psalms, the Song of Songs, and the New Testament), and Persian (for the Gospels only). Moreover, it was published in a more convenient size than either Plantin's or Le Jay's Polyglot. To defray the cost of printing, it was published by subscription: the list of subscribers was opened in 1652, and the first volume was issued in 1653; subsequent volumes appeared yearly, and the whole was finished early in 1658.

Since this Polyglot Bible was edited by Protestants, the Apocrypha (i.e. the books which are not canonical for Protestants) were printed separately, so that each subscriber could arrange for them to be placed as he liked, either in their traditional positions among the canonical books, or in a separate group by themselves.

There are two copies of this Polyglot Bible at Brown: John Carter Brown's copy (shown here), and the copy given to the University in 1785 by the Baptist Education Society of Bristol, England. In each copy the Apocrypha are bound in a group by themselves. John Carter Brown's copy was the earlier of the two to be sold, for it has Brian Walton's Preface in its original form, with thanks for Cromwell's assistance. The other copy seems to have been sold after the Restoration of the Monarchy in 1660, for it has the later form of the Preface, with expressions of loyalty to King Charles II, but only a single veiled reference to Cromwell.

23. *Biblia sacra polyglotta, complectentia textus originales, Hebraicum cum Pentateucho Samaritano, Chaldaicum, Graecum, versionumque antiquarum, Samaritanae, Graecae LXXII interpretum, Chaldaicae, Syriacae,*

Arabicae, Aethiopicae, Persicae, Vulgatae Latinae.
London: Thomas Roycroft, 1653-57. Fo. 6 vols.

Acquired before 1845 by John Carter Brown.

D&M 1446 (cf. 1650, 2415, 3566, 4696, 5130,
6227, 7320, 7928, 8965), Wing B-2797 (cf. W-655),
JCB(3)2:466-67, Winship pp. 20-21.

Three of the six volumes of Walton's Polyglot are displayed here.

Volume 1 is open to the story of the Tower of Babel, in order to show how the eight ancient versions are set out more conveniently here than in Le Jay's Polyglot.

Volume 4 has been opened to a book found only in the Syriac Peshitta Bible: the First Epistle of Baruch the Scribe. In the Peshitta this is followed by the book which is there called the Second Epistle of Baruch the Scribe, but which in other ancient versions is simply known as the book of Baruch.

Volume 5 is open to the text of Luke 2:14, familiar in English as "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will toward men." Note how it differs from version to version here (using the Latin translations as a guide):

Gloria in altissimis Deo, et in terra pax, in hominibus
beneplacitium (Greek);

Gloria Deo in excelsis, et super terram pax, et spes bona
hominibus (Syriac Peshitta);

Deo in excelsis laus, et pax super terram, et bona spes
hominibus (Persian)

Gloria Deo in excelsis, et super terram pax, et in
hominibus hilaritas (Arabic);

Gloria Deo in coelis, et pax in terra, filiis hominum
voluntas eius (Ethiopic);

Gloria in altissimis Deo, et in terra pax hominibus bonae
voluntatis (Latin Vulgate).

The most striking difference here is that which separates the Latin Vulgate from all the others: "peace on earth to men of good will" versus "peace on earth, good will toward men." In this same phrase, "good will" corresponds to "good hope" in the Syriac and Persian, and to "joy" in the Arabic. The Ethiopic renders it "His will for the sons of men," and reads "Glory to God in the heavens" for "Glory to God in the highest."

The Apparatus of Scholarship

Three of the four great Polyglot Bibles contain extensive scholarly apparatus. Cardinal Jiménez's Polyglot includes a brief dictionary of Biblical Greek in volume 5, and devotes volume 6 in its entirety to a grammar and dictionary of Hebrew and a dictionary of proper names in the Bible. Volume 6 is displayed to the left, open to the beginning of the Hebrew Grammar.

Three of the eight volumes of Plantin's Polyglot are reserved for an extensive scholarly apparatus, in three parts. Volumes 6 and 7 are displayed to the right, volume 8 in the other half of the caes.

Volume 6 (misnumbered "7" by the binder of this copy) contains grammars and dictionaries of Hebrew, Aramaic, Syriac and Biblical Greek. It is open here to the beginning of Andreas Masius' Syriac Grammar.

Volume 7 (misnumbered "6" in this copy) gives the complete text of the Old Testament in Hebrew and the New

Testament in Greek, with a full literal translation into Latin printed above each line. This is meant to serve as an aid in teaching oneself Hebrew or Biblical Greek. The Old Testament starts at the "back" of the volume (since, like any Hebrew book, it is read from right to left), the New Testament at the front of the volume; they meet in the middle. This volume is open to the story of the Tower of Babel.

Volume 8 of Plantin's Polyglot contains a variety of critical treatises on such subjects as Biblical weights and measures, Biblical geography, the Tabernacle, Temple and vestments of the High Priest, etc., as well as a collection of variant readings from certain old manuscripts. It is open to the treatise *Liber Ioseph, sive, de arcano sermone* "The Book of Joseph, or, On Arcane Speech," by Benito Arias Montano. Here Montano argues that the Old Testament in Hebrew ought not to be translated literally in all places, because words with concrete meanings are often used metaphorically in it in ways which are not at all obvious to an unschooled reader, and also because in places the usual Jewish pointing of the consonantal Hebrew text is faulty, and a different pointing would yield a better meaning. (Originally the text was transmitted without any vowel points; the pointing represents the later efforts of Jewish scholars to fix the pronunciation, and therefore the meaning, of the traditional consonantal text.) This treatise proved to very controversial, and was eventually censured at Rome and placed on the Index of Forbidden Books in Spain.

In Walton's Polyglot, the scholarly apparatus is largely confined to questions of manuscripts and variant readings in them. These matters are treated in the prolegomena to volume 1 and in all parts of volume 6. Volume 6 is on display here, open to an account of variant readings in a number of manuscripts of the Greek New Testament. Shown here is the page where Acts 15:20, 29 are discussed. As in Estienne's edition, the Negative Golden Rule in among the variants cited. It is characteristic of the difficulties involved in preparing such an apparatus that the remarkable Codex Bezae is cited twice, as if it were two different manuscripts: it is cited as *Cant.*, i.e. Codex

Cantabrigiensis, by the editors of this volume; but it also supplied readings to Estienne's 1550 edition, where it is cited as codex *Steph. 2*, and all of Estienne's readings are entered here as well. Since Estienne's citation of the manuscript is in fact inaccurate in small details, there was no reason for Walton and his fellow editors to suppose that Estienne's codex 2 might be the same manuscript as their Codex Cantabrigiensis.

24. Edmund Castell.

Lexicon heptaglotton, Hebraicum, Chaldaicum, Syriacum, Samaritanum, Aethiopicum, Arabicum, conjunctim; et Persicum, separatim.

London: Thomas Roycroft, [1669; reissued by] Robert Scott, 1686. Fo. 2 vol.

Acquired before 1845 by John Carter Brown.

Wing C-1226, not in JCB(3)4 or JCB(STL).

Information on the Biblical languages, which was virtually the whole of the scholarly apparatus in Cardinal Jiménez's Polyglot, and about two thirds of the whole in Plantin's Polyglot, was reserved by Walton for independent treatment. The majority of this work fell upon the shoulders of Edmund Castell, and was published in the form of this *Lexicon Heptaglotton*, or Dictionary of Seven Languages. Six of these languages are closely related (linguists now term them Semitic languages), and can be treated in a single dictionary arranged alphabetically. This dictionary, the longest part of Castell's work, is open here to the start of the entries for the letter M. Note how all six languages can figure in the entry for a single root.

Castell's *Lexicon* also contains a separate dictionary of the only one of his seven languages which is not related to

the others (Persian), and a comparative grammar of all seven languages. The other of the two volumes into which this copy of the *Lexicon* is bound is open to the beginning of the comparative grammar.

Each of the two copies of Walton's Polyglot Bible at Brown is accompanied by a copy of Castell's *Lexicon*, acquired at the same time from the same source, and bound uniformly with the Polyglot Bible. John Carter Brown's copy, shown here, has a later title page, inserted in 1686 to create the illusion of a new edition, in expectation of creating a demand for the unsold copies of the original edition. The University's other copy has the original title page of 1669.

25. Brian Walton.

Introductio ad lectionem linguarum orientalium: Hebraicae, Chaldaicae, Samaritanae, Syriacae, Arabicae, Persicae, Aethiopicae, Armenae, Coptae.
2nd ed. London: Thomas Roycroft, 1655. 12o.

Acquired after 1793, before 1826.

Wing W-659, BrU(3)455¹⁸, BrU(2) p. 7.

Lent by courtesy of the John Hay Library.

To assist users of his Polyglot Bible, especially before the appearance of its scholarly apparatus and Castell's *Lexicon*, Walton published this small volume, a brief account of the lesser-known languages found in the Polyglot Bible: Hebrew, Aramaic ("Chaldee"), Samaritan, Syriac, Arabic and Persian. For each language there is an alphabet with instructions on pronunciation, a brief grammar, and some discussion of the available manuscripts and the texts already published by other scholars. At the end of the work are briefer treatments of Armenian and Coptic. Walton had

to fonts of type for these two languages, so the letters of the alphabets for them are printed from woodcuts. This is probably why the Polyglot Bible does not include texts in these languages. It is instructive to remember that Armenian typefonts had been made and used by Armenian printers since 1512, and that the first font for Coptic had been cut by the Press of the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith at Rome before 1636, which also possessed an Armenian font. Apparently Walton was unable to obtain type from either of these sources, if indeed he was aware of their existence.

26. Athanasius Kircher.
Prodromus Copticus sive Aegyptiacus.
Rome: Typographia S. Congregationis de propaganda
fide, 1636. 40.

Purchased 1955.

Lent by courtesy of the John Hay Library.

Shown here, for the sake of the contrast between it and Walton's publications, is one of the earlier products of the Press of the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith: Kircher's *Prodromus Copticus*, the first grammar and philological investigation of the Coptic language. Note the range of alphabets available at that press: Rabbinic Hebrew, Aramaic, Syriac, Arabic, Ethiopic, Armenian, Samaritan and Coptic can be seen on this page, and Hebrew and Syriac Estrangela elsewhere in this book. Not in this book, but available at the Press by this time, were Cyrillic, Glagolitic and Georgian typefonts.

Afterword

In her recent book, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change* (Cambridge University Press, 1979), Elizabeth L. Eisenstein attempts to assess the impact which the invention of printing had on the subsequent course of Western European history. One of the many problems on which she touches is whether the extreme complexity of Christian Scripture (as a compilation of writings from many different times and places) and of the Christian Ecclesiastical Calendar (which is both solar and lunar) was first brought into exceptionally sharp focus by the introduction of printed copies of the Bible and of the Calendar in place of manuscript ones, and whether the ways in which theology, philology and astronomy subsequently developed in the West were strongly influenced by this change in the methods of producing books.

The present exhibition is designed to provide background against which this problem can be considered, and to alert its viewers to some of the ways in which printing did indeed focus attention on the twin questions, Which books truly belong to the Bible, and which do not; and, What is the true text of each book of the Bible?

Brown University is fortunate to possess many of the most influential scholarly editions of the Bible printed during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Some of these books were originally part of the University's working library during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, when a large part of the students were preparing themselves for the ministry. Others, chiefly those in the Hawkins Collection (at the Annmary Brown Memorial) and the Koopman Collection (at the John Hay Library), were assembled to illustrate the early history of printing. The remainder, including those at the John Carter Brown Library, were originally collected as bibliophilic treasures.

among the latter are fine copies of all of the great Polyglot Bibles of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which were among John Carter Brown's earliest acquisitions (see "A Rare Collection of Polyglot Bibles," *The Broadway Journal* 1(1845), 228-229). These Polyglot Bibles are large books, in many volumes, and are rarely exhibited on the scale which they deserve. It is hoped that the present exhibition begins to do them justice.

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**LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE
AND THE GROWTH OF RELIGIOUS DIVERSITY
IN EARLY AMERICA, 1636 - 1786**

An Exhibition Mounted for the
Forty-third Annual Meeting of the
Associates of the John Carter Brown Library

May 2, 1986

Exhibition and Catalogue by Carla Gardina Pestana

The John Carter Brown Library is an independently administered center for advanced research in the humanities at Brown University. In order to facilitate and encourage use of the Library's outstanding collection of printed materials concerning the Americas from 1493 to 1830, the Library offers fellowships, sponsors lectures and conferences, regularly mounts exhibitions for the public, and publishes catalogues, bibliographies, and other works that interpret its holdings. For further information about the Library, write to: Director, The John Carter Brown Library, Box 1894, Providence, Rhode Island, 02912.

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Cover illustration: Detail from title page of John Graunt's *Truths Victory Against Heresie*. London, 1645.

THE INSISTENCE ON RELIGIOUS UNIFORMITY

Both the religious diversity and the liberty of conscience that flourish in the United States today, with no one denomination favored by the government, would have been abhorrent to the founders of the first English colonies. The vast majority of the English believed that conformity in religion was not only required by God, but was politically and socially necessary. Complete religious liberty, it was said, encouraged the unguided individual to wander off into heretical, bizarre, seditious, or licentious behavior. Thus, the first English colonies--Virginia, Plimouth Plantation, and the Massachusetts Bay Colony--were all founded with the assumption that religious uniformity would be a major attribute of each settlement.

Anglicanism in Virginia

Virginia, founded in 1607, was the first successful English colony. The official church in Virginia was the Church of England, and residents of the colony were taxed to support the Church, just as they had been in England.

1. William Strachey (1572?-1621). *For the colony in Virginea Britannia: Lawes Divine, Morall and Martiall*. London, 1612

The laws governing the five-year-old colony of Virginia were published in this 1612 pamphlet. Blasphemy, speaking against the Trinity, and any act that was found to be disrespectful of God were punishable by the death penalty. Less severe penalties were meted out to Sabbath-breakers, people who failed to attend church services, and those who committed sacrilege. These laws indicated the government's willingness to punish religious offenders. The

large number of laws relating to matters of faith and the severity of the punishments for those who broke them were typical of an era in which religious conformity was considered a necessary component of civil peace.

Catalog Number 3

2. Church of England. *Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments*. London, 1662.

Originally compiled during the brief reign of Edward VI (1547-1553) and revised under Elizabeth I, the Book of Common Prayer contained the liturgy used by the Church of England. It was often beautifully printed and sumptuously illustrated, and was reprinted many times over the years. This edition was the first one published after the Church of England was reestablished with the Restoration of the Stuart monarchy in 1660. Charles I (1600-1649), who had been executed by parliamentary radicals at the close of the English Civil War, is depicted in this illustration as a martyr to God's cause.

Catalog Number 1

Despite the efforts to transplant Anglicanism to the colonies, the church suffered from a shortage of ministers and from numerous other, related problems. One solution to these problems was offered by Anglican minister Thomas Bray in 1702.

3. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. [*Charter*]. London, 1702.

This broadside was printed in London in 1702 to publicize the newly established Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. The Society was organized through the efforts of the Reverend Bray to collect money to finance missionary and educational activities in the colonies. Hoping to spread Anglicanism into new areas, the SPG was also concerned to correct the deficiencies of the Church in areas where it was already established.

Catalog Number 5

4. Church of England. *Collection of Articles, Canons, Injunctions, etc.* London, 1699.

As part of its missionary effort, the SPG sent books and other material aid to Anglican churches in the colonies. The *Collection* reprinted various documents on the beliefs and organization of the Church of England. This particular copy was sent to Trinity Church in Newport, Rhode Island, which was founded in 1702. Largely through the efforts of the Society, the Newport church had a library of over one hundred volumes shortly after its founding.

Catalog Number 7

5. George Keith (1639?-1716). *A Journal of Travels from New-Hampshire to Caratuck, on the continent of North-America.* London, 1706.

George Keith toured the American colonies as an SPG missionary in 1702-1704. He kept this journal of his travels, recounting his efforts on behalf of the Church of England. Keith, a former Quaker, focused much of his

missionary zeal on that sect. At the same time, leading Quaker preachers traveled through the colonies trying to undermine his efforts. This passage recounts a dispute that took place in Lynn, Massachusetts, between Keith and traveling Quaker John Richardson. Despite the special status the Church of England enjoyed in its mother country, SPG missionaries in America were often forced to vie for souls with the supporters of other faiths.

Catalog Number 8

Congregational New England

The second major colonization effort mounted by the English was orchestrated as two separate ventures in the area that is now Massachusetts. The groups that settled in New England had been part of a large religious reform movement in England, a movement predicated on the idea that the Church of England had not departed enough from Roman Catholic practices. These reformers, known as Puritans, wanted to return to the practices of the early Christian church, practices they believed the Roman Catholic and Anglican churches had wrongly abandoned. From 1590 until 1633, Puritan ministers were able to remain within the Church of England while working to reform it. After that date, however, Charles I and the new Archbishop of Canterbury began a campaign to suppress all criticism of the Church. One of the immediate consequences of the ill-conceived policies of Charles I was the Great Migration of Puritans to New England.

With no hope of immediately reforming the Church of England, the founders of Plymouth Plantation in 1620 and of the Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1629 worked to establish exemplary Biblical commonwealths of their own. Each town was to have a congregational church with the power to call its own minister. Everyone was required to attend church

services morning and afternoon on Sunday and to contribute to the financial support of the minister, but only those adults who could prove their sainthood to the congregation were considered full church members.

6. John Robinson (ca. 1575-1625). *A Just and Necessarie Apologie of Certain Christians ... called Brownists or Barrowists*. [Amsterdam, 1625].

Some Puritans advocated complete separation from the Anglican church even before dissent began to be suppressed. John Robinson served as the minister to one such group of English separatists who left England to live first in the Netherlands and then in Plimouth Plantation. He died in Holland before he and the remainder of his little flock could join the "Pilgrims" at Plimouth. In 1619, before Plimouth was founded, Robinson published this defense of the group's beliefs and practices. This copy is a later English translation of the work, which was originally published in Latin. Robert Browne and Henry Barrow were radical separatists of an earlier generation whose names had become epithets for all those who had adopted a similar position. Thus the congregation led by Robinson was derisively labeled "Brownists" or "Barrowists".

Catalog Number 9

7. *The Whole Booke of Psalmes*. Cambridge, 1640.

Shortly after their arrival, the settlers in Massachusetts established a college for training ministers and set up a printing press, both in Cambridge. Popularly known as the "Bay Psalm Book", this new translation of the Psalms was the first book published in the English colonies.

The John Carter Brown Library copy, completely intact including the binding, belonged to one of the translators of the work, the famous Richard Mather.

Catalog Number 11

8. Nathaniel Ward (1578-1652). *The Simple Cobler of Aggawam in America*. London, 1647.

Nathaniel Ward served as minister of Ipswich, the Algonquin name of which was Aggawam. As *The Simple Cobler of Aggawam in America*, Ward defended the colonial religious establishment to English audiences. In a justly famous passage he explained the official attitude toward dissenters: they "shall have liberty to keep away from us."

Catalog Number 12

9. *A Platform of Church Discipline*. Cambridge, 1649.

The *Platform of Church Discipline* was issued in 1649 by a synod of Connecticut and Massachusetts churches that had been meeting in Cambridge periodically for three years. Known as the Cambridge Platform, the document outlined the ecclesiastical policies of the New England churches on seventeen different points. The final chapter addressed the question "Of the Civil Magistrates Power in Matters Ecclesiastical" and described the vigorous role the civil leaders were expected to take in protecting and promoting the interests of the church.

Catalog Number 14

10. John Higginson (1616-1708). *The Cause of God and His People in New-England*. Cambridge, 1663.

John Higginson was a second-generation New England minister. In 1663, he was asked to deliver the election day sermon. Every year one man was honored by an invitation to preach on this occasion to the colony's gathered leaders. These sermons usually addressed the important issues of the day and were often published. Higginson's *The Cause of God and His People in New England* is the oldest published election day sermon of which copies have survived. Its title reflected the belief among orthodox New Englanders that God had chosen them to establish true Christianity in the New World. In the sermon Higginson delineated those things that were not included in God's cause: materialism, separation, and toleration.

Catalog Number 15

RHODE ISLAND INTRODUCES DIVERSITY

While Anglicans in Virginia and Congregationalists in Massachusetts were determined to continue the English practice of maintaining a religious establishment in North America, the settlers of Rhode Island pioneered the religious diversity that would eventually characterize all the colonies. Rhode Island was settled in response to the intolerant policies of the Bay Colony Puritans. In their quest for a truly godly state the leaders of the Massachusetts Bay Colony were prepared to banish any individual who voiced views that did not conform to their own understanding of God's will.

Roger Williams

Roger Williams, son of a London shopkeeper, received an education at Cambridge University and arrived in New England in 1631. Unlike most Bay Colony Puritans, Williams advocated a separatist position similar to that held in Plimouth. He further believed the King of England had no right to give away land in New England; that the oath of all but the "saints," the members of the elect, was blasphemous; and that the magistrates should not concern themselves with breaches of the first four commandments, which addressed the individual's relationship to God. Thus Williams challenged the very basis of the colonization venture--the land titles granted by the King--and the Puritans' plan for creating a Bible commonwealth supported by government authority.

As a minister, first in Plimouth and then in Salem, Williams openly expounded these radical views. Fearing that he might collect a major following, and unable to silence him in any other way, the authorities of the Bay Colony banished him in 1635. Williams fled south during the winter of 1635-36 to avoid deportation back to England, where his extreme views would have met with severe punishments. Joined by a handful of supporters from Massachusetts, he founded the town of Providence that summer.

11. Roger Williams (ca. 1603-1683). *The Bloody Tenet of Persecution, for Cause of Conscience, discussed, in a Conference between Truth and Peace*. [London,] 1644.

Williams's greatest work, *The Bloody Tenet*, laid out his belief in the importance of liberty of conscience. Williams's views were presented in a dialogue between Truth and Peace, who eventually agreed that religious persecution was contrary to the principles of both. The work was published

as part of a debate with the Boston minister John Cotton while Williams was in London securing a charter for Rhode Island. Although hastily written and printed, *The Bloudy Tenet* has rightly been called Williams's masterpiece.

Catalog Number 17

12. John Cotton (1584-1652). *The Bloudy Tenent, Washed, and Made White in the Bloud of the Lambe: Being Discussed and Discharged of Bloud-Guiltinesse by Just Defense.* London, 1647.

John Cotton was possibly the most famous Puritan minister to join in the Great Migration to New England. Until 1633, he had preached in Boston, England. On his arrival in New England, he was immediately asked to serve as teacher of the Boston church, a post he held for the rest of his life. This tract represented Cotton's best effort against Roger Williams's arguments for liberty of conscience, although it was by no means Cotton's best work. In it, he argued that heretics sinned against their own consciences in adopting their erroneous views.

Catalog Number 18

13. Roger Williams (ca. 1603-1683). *A Key Into the Language of America.* London, 1643.

Unlike most of the other Europeans who came to America, Williams was able to respect and appreciate Native American culture. The *Key*, published in 1643, was one of the fruits of over a decade of extensive contact that Williams had had with southern New England Indians. Ostensibly a dictionary of Algonquin words and phrases and their English meanings, the book was full of anecdotal accounts or "observations." In this passage Williams is

exchanging views about the creation of the world. In response to the Indians assertion that there are "many, great many" gods, Williams tells the Biblical story of the creation. English audiences were intrigued by the thought of Williams, a well-educated Englishman, living among the "savages."

Catalog Number 21

14. Thomas Shepard (1605-1649). *The Clear Sun-Shine of the Gospel Breaking forth Upon the Indians in New-England*. London, 1648.

The attitudes of most colonists toward Native Americans differed sharply from those of Roger Williams. In this tract, Massachusetts minister Thomas Shepard described the "praying Indian" villages established as part of that colony's limited efforts to convert local Indians to Christianity. Shepard took care to reprint the rules governing the Christian Indian villages. These regulations revealed the emphasis placed on inculcating English cultural norms as if these were essential to true Christianity.

Catalog Number 25

15. Cotton Mather (1663-1728). *Magnalia Christi Americana*. London, 1702.

Today, we admire Roger Williams's tolerant religious policies. During his own era, however, majority opinion was against Williams's "soul liberty." In his 1702 history of New England, Boston minister Cotton Mather described Rhode Island's religious diversity with a contemptuous tone that was shared by many of his peers.

Catalog Number 33

The Hutchinsonians

Two years after Providence was founded, another group of dissenters under the leadership of Anne Marbury Hutchinson came to the area around Narragansett Bay. Hutchinson had come to Boston in 1634 with her husband and their many dependents in order to remain under the pastoral care of John Cotton. Once in Boston she began holding religious meetings in her home where she would discuss the sermons preached by the town's ministers. She became increasingly critical of some ministers, whom she considered unregenerate, and gathered a large and powerful following. In 1637, Hutchinson was examined before both a civil court and the church, and was banished and excommunicated in turn. Many of her followers were disarmed, disenfranchised, and in some cases, also banished. The next year they established the town of Portsmouth.

16. John Winthrop (1588-1649). *A Short Story of the Rise, Reign, and Ruin of the Antinomians, Familists & Libertines*. London, 1644.

John Winthrop, a wealthy squire by birth and a lawyer by profession, left England in 1630 as one of the leaders of the Great Migration. Once in Boston, he frequently served as Governor or Deputy Governor of the infant colony. Winthrop led the opposition to Anne Hutchinson. Winthrop was no theologian, and his own account lacked some of the subtlety that the colonial ministry brought to the debate. But it revealed the personal animosities, political maneuvering, and sense of crisis that accompanied the controversy.

Catalog Number 26

17. John Wheelwright (1592-1679). *Mercurius Americanus, Mr. Welds his Antitype*. London, 1645.

John Wheelwright was one of the Puritan ministers silenced by the bishops in England. The brother-in-law of Anne Hutchinson, he was nominated by the Hutchinsonians to the post of teacher in Boston's church. Winthrop successfully opposed the appointment, and Wheelwright left Boston to minister to the people living at Mount Wollaston. The following year, Wheelwright attended an afternoon lecture by John Cotton, and then delivered an unscheduled, provocative sermon of his own once Cotton had finished. His subsequent conviction for sedition was the first in a series of maneuvers against the Hutchinson group, which ended in Anne's banishment.

Catalog Number 27

18. John Clarke (1609-1676). *Ill Newes from New-England*. London, 1652.

Trained as a minister and as a physician, John Clarke was one of Hutchinson's followers who eventually adopted an even more extreme position. Like many other radical Protestants, Clarke came to question the practice of baptizing infants and embraced "Anabaptist" views. In 1651 he was apprehended and punished in Massachusetts for traveling to Lynn to minister to a Baptist living there. Clarke published this tract to call attention to the intolerance of the Bay Colony, which he contrasted to the increasing toleration practiced in Old England during the 1650s.

Catalog Number 28

19. William Coddington (1601-1678). *A Demonstration of True Love*. [London,] 1674.

Another of Anne Hutchinson's followers, William Coddington, assumed various leadership positions, first in Massachusetts and then in Rhode Island. Like many other Hutchinsonians, he became a Quaker during the 1650s. Subsequently he used his influence with other New England leaders to disseminate Quaker tracts and to advocate the Quaker cause. This, his only published work, was written in response to the uncooperative reaction his efforts received from his old friend, Richard Bellingham. Coddington had sent a letter to Bellingham, then Governor of Massachusetts, which Bellingham refused to read, burning it unopened. *A Demonstration of True Love* related that incident, printed the text of the original letter, and recounted the long history of intolerance in the Bay Colony. Reminding Bellingham of their former friendship, Coddington urged repentance, toleration, and Quakerism on the Governor.

Catalog Number 29

Samuel Gorton

A third group to take shelter in the more tolerant colony of Rhode Island, after being poorly received elsewhere in New England, was Samuel Gorton and his followers. Gorton left London, where he worked as a clothier, to come to Massachusetts early in 1637. Gorton was soon involved in controversies in Plimouth over his various "heretical" beliefs, in Portsmouth for his provocative attacks on the civil magistrates, and in Providence because of land disputes. Finally, he and the supporters he had collected along the way settled further south in Shawomet (now Warwick).

Although his ideas made Gorton an uncooperative participant in any civil state, he was able to live out his life in Shawomet/Warwick. Williams included his settlement, along with those on Aquidneck, in the patent he requested for the colony in 1644. "Gortonism" did not become a lasting sect but the Gortonists were able to remain in the colony, and contributed to the religious diversity there.

20. Samuel Gorton (1592-1677). *Simplicities Defence Against Seven-Headed Policy*. London, 1646.

Samuel Gorton was one of the most unconventional figures in early New England. At one time or another he came into conflict over questions of religion and land ownership with every colony in southeastern New England. During the 1640s he published numerous doctrinal tracts that revealed his radical stance on almost every topic. In this tract, Gorton presented his case against the intolerant New Englanders he had tangled with during the preceding decade.

Catalog Number 30

21. *The Rhode Island Almanack for the Year, 1728*. Newport, 1728. Facsimile, 1911.

In keeping with the acceptance of religious diversity in Rhode Island, this almanac listed the annual meetings for both Baptists and Quakers throughout the northern colonies. The product of the press of James Franklin, who set up shop in Newport after being harried out of the less tolerant colony of Massachusetts, this almanac was one of the first works printed in Rhode Island. James Franklin's far more famous younger half-brother, Benjamin, learned the printer's trade

from James in Boston before running away to Philadelphia, where he demonstrated a similar willingness to work with diverse religious groups.

Catalog Figure II. 9

22. *The charter Granted by His Majesty King Charles the Second, to the Colony of Rhode-Island, and Providence-Plantations.* Boston, 1719.

The charter granted to Roger Williams by Parliament in 1644 was nullified with the Restoration of the Stuart monarchy in 1661. The colony had to petition the King for a new charter, and this request was granted in 1663. Charles II chose to permit the policy of freedom of conscience to continue in force in Rhode Island. This was the first royal charter specifically to grant this freedom.

Catalog Number 32

ENGLISH CIVIL WAR SECTS

Besides the Great Migration of Puritans to New England, the unpopular policies of Charles I had other profound results. By the early 1640s, the country was divided into royalists (who supported the King) and parliamentarians (who opposed him). After a civil war resulted in victory for the latter, the King and the archbishop were executed as traitors early in 1649. Leadership of the nation eventually fell to a Puritan general in the Parliamentary army, Oliver Cromwell, who adopted a policy of almost complete religious freedom. The monarchy was finally restored, with some of its old authority curtailed, in 1660. For the two exciting decades of this period of upheaval the people of England experienced an

unprecedented degree of religious freedom. It was this change that made it possible for such New World radicals as Roger Williams, John Clarke, and Samuel Gorton to publish their works in England. These years also witnessed the establishment of many new sects, some of which would have a profound impact on the colonies.

23. Ephraim Pagitt (1574 or 1575-1647). *Heresiography*. London, 1661.

During the English civil war many sects flourished in England. With the religious establishment dissolved, the monarch executed, and the censorship laws revoked, radical religious ideas were freely discussed and adopted. Supporters of orthodoxy were appalled by the events of these decades. Ephraim Pagitt's *Heresiography*, which described all the various sects in highly disapproving terms, went through six printings from 1645 to 1661. His treatment of those he considered heretics reflected the hostile reaction of many to the religious freedom enjoyed during this era. In order to buttress arguments against religious liberty, orthodox observers like Pagitt related scandalous rumors of the murders and orgies in which sectaries reputedly participated.

Catalog Number 34

24. George Bishop (d. 1668). *New-England Judged, by the Spirit of the Lord*. London, 1703.

The most successful and long-lasting sect born during this era was the Quakers, later known as the Society of Friends. Much of their early success was due to the work of traveling Quaker "witnesses." George Bishop had been a captain in Cromwell's army and an early convert to Quakerism. During the 1650s and 1660s he collected

accounts from his coreligionists as they came through the port of Bristol where he lived. Using information gathered from various people who had been in New England, he wrote this account of the persecution of the Quakers in that region. The most dramatic incidents Bishop recorded were the executions of four Quakers, three men and one woman, in Boston in 1659-1661.

First published in two parts in 1661 and 1667, *New England Judged* was abridged and reprinted for a later generation of readers in 1703.

Catalog Number 37

25. Robert Barclay (1648-1690). *An Apology for the True Christian Divinity*. Newport, 1729.

Robert Barclay, a Scottish convert to Quakerism, is considered the Society's greatest seventeenth-century theologian. His *Apology* defended the Quaker faith against its detractors and provided inspiration to many generations of the convinced. Immensely popular, the *Apology* was reprinted many times and published in six languages, of which the John Carter Brown Library owns all but the Arabic edition. The Newport edition was financed by the Rhode Island Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends and was among the first books ever published in Rhode Island. This copy, one of only two known extant copies from the edition, was owned by the substantial Quaker merchant and philanthropist Abraham Readwood (later Redwood), who noted on the inside cover the page numbers for the topics that most interested him. Among other things, Readwood wanted a ready reference to the passages in which Barclay explained the origins of the name "Quaker" and the reasons religious ecstasy at times caused people to quake.

Catalog Number 39

26. Increase Mather (1639-1723). *An Essay for the Recording of Illustrious Providences*. London, 1684.

The *Essay*, which was largely anecdotal, was Mather's most popular work. It was published twice in Boston and once in London in one year. One of the stories recounted was that of the "Singing and Dancing Quakers" of Long Island. The people Mather described were probably "Ranters" rather than Quakers. That Mather classified this marginal group as part of the Quaker movement was an embarrassment to the Society of Friends. The Quaker activist George Keith shortly challenged Mather on this score, disclaiming any connection between the two groups.

Catalog Number 40

27. John Rogers (1648-1721). *An Epistle Sent from God to the World, Containing the Best News that ever the World Heard. And Transcribed by John Rogers a servant of Jesus Christ*. [New London?] 1718.

Perhaps the first indigenous American sect, the New London Rogerenes were influenced by many of the radical ideas emanating from England during the 1640s and 1650s. Although John Rogers and later his son and namesake both took leadership roles in the sect, the Rogerenes apparently did not believe in having an established ministry--even women were permitted to speak in their meetings. John Rogers was harassed and persecuted for his role in the sect, spending some time in prison. He published numerous pamphlets that urged repentance, heralded the coming millennium, and chastised the authorities for the ill-treatment the Rogerenes received. As the title of this tract

suggested, Rogers believed that he received God's word directly, and simply transcribed it and had it printed for more general consumption.

Catalog Number 42

Religiosity in Colonial Society

Although most of the evidence of colonial religious beliefs and practices that have survived the years was the work of male members of the elite, there are also scattered but noteworthy indications of the importance of religiosity to people of both sexes at all levels of society.

28. Mary Balch. [*Sampler*]. Newport, 1773.

Girls practiced their needlework skills by creating samplers such as this one by eleven-year-old Newport resident Mary Balch. Colonial samplers often included biblical quotations or other pious sayings, and sometimes more elaborate biblical scenes like the sacrifice of Isaac in the upper left border of this piece. Balch later kept a school in Providence for almost half a century, where she taught, among other things, needlework skills.

Courtesy of the Rhode Island Historical Society.

29. *The History of the Holy Jesus*. Boston, [ca. 1767]

Numerous editions of *The History of the Holy Jesus*, a book intended for children, were published in New England beginning in about 1745. The woodcuts in this edition are crude, but their message is representative of the concern for piety felt by many people at mid-century.

Catalog Figure V. 1

30. Phillis Wheatley (1753-1784). *An Elegiac Poem, on the Death of that celebrated divine, and eminent servant of Jesus Christ, the Reverend and Learned George Whitefield*. Boston, [1770].

Seventeen-year-old Phillis Wheatley had been in the colonies only nine years when this, her first published poem, appeared. In it, Phillis mourned the death of the great evangelist, George Whitefield. An African-born slave, Phillis learned English and converted to Christianity under the tutelage of her mistress, who encouraged her career as a poet and eventually freed her.

Catalog Number 68 and Figure IV. 12

BEYOND ENGLISH PROTESTANTISM

English Protestantism in its various forms dominated the British American colonies. Yet people of non-Protestant faiths and people of non-English backgrounds were also coming to the North American colonies. With their strikingly different faiths or ethnic origins, the significance of these groups for the development of religion in America far exceeded their actual numbers.

Roman Catholics

A nation of Protestants during an era of intense religious rivalries, most of the English were staunchly anti-Catholic. Because of this, few Roman Catholics settled in the British North American colonies. Maryland offered the most noteworthy exception to this rule, for the proprietor of that colony was one of England's few remaining Catholic

aristocrats. Even in Maryland, Catholics were persecuted whenever the Protestant majority could gain the upper hand. Only late in the colonial period did the Catholic population begin to grow, most notably in Pennsylvania.

31. John Graunt (fl. 1640-1652). *Truths Victory*. London, 1645.

Anti-Catholicism was an established tradition in England by the time of the English Civil War. All but the country's few Catholics and a handful of Anglicans agreed that Roman Catholics constituted a huge threat to England and to true religion. In *Truths Victory* John Graunt numbered Catholics first among heretics, connecting them to various European sects.

Catalog Number 44

32. Cotton Mather (1663-1728). *The Way of Truth Laid Out*. Boston, 1721.

Although he was a dissenter from the English religious establishment, Cotton Mather agreed with John Nalson about the dangers posed by wily "papists," as Catholics were derisively labeled. His *Way of Truth Laid Out* was intended as a handy reference for Congregationalists to use against "popery." Mather then went on to explain the arguments against Anabaptists, Quakers, and other Protestant sects. First published in 1708 as *The Man of God Furnished*, this copy of the second edition may be the only one still extant.

Catalog Number 47

33. Andrew White (1579-1656). *A Relation of the Successfull Beginnings of the Lord Baltemore's Plantation in Maryland*. [London,] 1634.

This account of the arrival of the first settlers in Maryland was written by a Jesuit priest, Andrew White, who participated in the venture and celebrated the first mass on Maryland's shores. White's detailed report, prepared for his superiors in Rome and written in Latin, was replete with references to Holy Days, Angels, and the first mass. This translation of White's report was revised for English audiences and all overtly Roman Catholic references were deleted. In the original Latin version of this account the passage indicated here began: "On the day of the Annunciation of the Most Holy Virgin Mary in the year 1634, we celebrated the Mass for the first time on this island. This was never done before in this part of the world."

Catalog Number 48

34. John Langford. *A Just and Cleere Refutation*. London, 1655.

Maryland's famous Act Concerning Religion was first published in this 1655 pamphlet by John Langford. The law allowed liberty of conscience for all Christians, which was the only way Catholics could be granted religious freedom in an English colony.

Catalog Number 50

Jews

Like Roman Catholicism, contemporary American Judaism owes more to nineteenth century immigration than to the colonial past. Yet Jews settled in the region that would become the United States as early as 1654. Most were Sephardic Jews, who had been expelled from the Iberian peninsula during the 1490s. The first Jewish community came to New Amsterdam, then a Dutch town in New Netherlands (later New York), from Recife in eastern Brazil. Another group settled in Newport, Rhode Island, in 1658. By the end of the colonial period there were six separate Jewish communities in British North America, none of which enjoyed the leadership of a rabbi.

35. Haim Isaac Carigal (1733-1777). *A Sermon Preached at the Synagogue in Newport, Rhode-Island called "The Salvation of Israel"*. Newport, 1773.

Rabbi Carigal was a Palestinian-born Jew who traveled extensively through the Orient and Europe before coming to the colonies in 1773. He spent five months in Philadelphia, New York, and Newport, visiting his co-religionists in each town. This sermon, preached in Newport by Carigal, was translated by Abraham Lopez.

Catalog Number 53

36. Judah Monis (1683-1764). *Dickdook Leshon Gnebreet: A Grammar of the Hebrew Tongue*. Boston, 1735.

This was the first Hebrew grammar published in America. It was intended for use by Harvard College students who learned Hebrew in preparation for careers as ministers. Judah Monis, the author, was the first Jew to receive a Harvard degree and the first instructor in Hebrew

employed by the College. In 1722, two years after receiving his degree, Monis converted to Christianity and was baptized at College Hall. He continued to observe the seventh day (Saturday) as the sabbath after his conversion, however.

Catalog Number 54

Presbyterians

Presbyterianism was a branch of European Protestantism theologically quite similar to English Congregationalism. Presbyterians disagreed with their Congregational brethren on church organization, favoring a system of presbyteries instead of congregational autonomy. These presbyteries--or governing bodies--issued declarations about faith and practice which members were expected to follow.

In the colonies, Presbyterians were most often people of non-English backgrounds. A number of European nations, including Holland, some German states, and Scotland, had adopted the Presbyterian system as their national church. The Dutch, German, and Scottish immigrants who adhered to the "Reformed" religion of their homeland were all Presbyterians in essence, but despite their similar beliefs, they considered themselves members of different churches.

37. Francis Makemie (1658-1708). *A Narration of a New and Unusual American Imprisonment of Two Presbyterian Ministers*. [New York,] 1707.

Francis Makemie was a Scots-Irish Presbyterian minister who preached in the colonies from 1681 until his death. He led the group of ministers who met in Philadelphia in 1706 to establish the first American

presbytery. The next year he was imprisoned and fined for preaching in New York without a license. When he appealed his case, he was acquitted. The legislature further passed an act ending this sort of religious persecution, which was one landmark on the road to religious liberty. Makemie issued this anonymous pamphlet about the incident in an effort to bring adverse publicity to such persecution.

Catalog Number 58

38. Congregation of God in the Spirit. *Kurzer catechismus Vor etliche Gemeinen Jesu aus der Reformirten Religion in Pennsylvania, die sich zum alten Berner Synodo halten: Herausgegeben von Johannes Bechteln, Diener des Worts Gottes.* Philadelphia, 1742.

This catechism was compiled by Johannes Bechtel, pastor of a Congregation in Germantown, and N. L. Graf von Zinzendorf and published for use by the expanding German Reformed Church in Pennsylvania. Benjamin Franklin, who was on very good terms with the various ethnic groups in the colony, printed the volume.

Catalog Number 60

French Huguenots

Huguenots were French Protestants who had been free to worship in their native country from 1598, when the Edict of Nantes granted them that liberty. In 1685, however, the Edict was revoked, resulting in the departure of some 300,000 French Protestants who chose to leave their homeland rather than to accept Catholicism. Many traveled to England where they were encouraged to settle in the colonies.

39. "View of Faneuil Hall in Boston." *Massachusetts Magazine* (1789), volume I, number 3.

The hall was given to the town of Boston by Peter Faneuil, a Huguenot merchant who emigrated to Massachusetts. The hall's subsequent importance as a community center is symbolic of the ease with which the Huguenots were assimilated into colonial life. Many Huguenots eventually joined the Church of England.

Catalog Figure IV.

Lutherans

Like the Reformed churches, or the Presbyterians, the Lutherans in the colonies came from at least three different European countries. By the early 1600s Lutheran churches had come to dominate north central Europe. Swedish, Dutch, and German Lutherans settled in the North American colonies beginning in 1638. By the Revolution there were over eighty Lutheran congregations in Pennsylvania, New York, Virginia, and North Carolina.

40. John Campanius (1601-1683), translator. *Lutheri Catechismus Öfwersatt på American-Virginiske Språket*. Stockholm, 1696.

John Campanius, the most noteworthy Swedish Lutheran minister in America, translated Luther's catechism into the Delaware Indian language. His *Catechismus* remained in manuscript until the 1690s, when the Swedish King took a new interest in these early missionary efforts. Campanius's translation was published in Stockholm at royal expense in 1696, and five hundred

copies were sent to the colonies to be used in converting the Indians.

Catalog Number 62

41. *Denkmal der Liebe und Achtung Welches seiner Hochwürden dem Herrn D. Heinrich Melchior Mühlenberg ... ist gesetzt worden.* Philadelphia, 1788.

This memorial commemorated the life of Heinrich Melchior Muhlenberg (1711-1787). Muhlenberg was born in Hanover (now part of Germany), received a university education, and was ordained in 1739. From 1742 until his death he worked to unite and expand the Lutheran church in America. He formed the Pennsylvania Ministerium, which served much like a presbytery for the Lutheran churches. He also worked with the leaders of the Swedish churches in bringing order to American Lutheranism, and laid the groundwork for the modern church in the United States.

Catalog Number 63

German Pietist Sects

The German-speaking area of Europe, although predominantly Protestant, encompassed wide variations in theological principles, most of which were to take root in the North American colonies. German Presbyterians and Lutherans were not the only ones to emigrate; so did adherents of a number of "pietist" sects. Most of these sects advocated believer's baptism and had a strikingly mystical bent. They often settled in Pennsylvania, which they found appealing because of the promise of religious liberty, the availability of land for settlement, and perhaps the similar mysticism of the Quakers.

The Amish branch of one of these sects, the Mennonites, are famous today for their continued adherence to their traditional style of life.

42. David Cranz (1723-1777). *Kurze, zuverlässige Nachricht von der, unter dem Namen der Böhmisch-Mährischen Brüder bekanten, Kirche Unitas Fratrum*. [Germany?] 1757.

Pietist sects often participated in symbolic recreations of biblical events, such as the footwashing shown here.

Catalog Figure IV. 9

Afro-American Religion

The vast majority of African slaves brought to the British North American colonies beginning in the seventeenth century adhered to traditional West African religions. Only gradually did Christianity become a part of black American life. The rate at which it did so was determined by demographic factors and conditions of servitude. In the northern colonies, where blacks were few, they were generally included in the local Christian community from the outset. In the South, where slaves were more numerous and white fears of insurrection more intense, the situation was quite different. It was not until dissenting ministers began touring the southern colonies later in the eighteenth century that southern blacks converted to Christianity in substantial numbers.

43. Olaudah Equiano (b. 1745). *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa, the African, Written by Himself*. New York, 1791.

An Ibo from the area of present-day Nigeria, Olaudah Equiano, was shipped to Barbados as a boy to be sold as a slave. He was found physically unacceptable for the grueling labor that slaves on West Indian sugar plantations had to perform, and was therefore sold instead in Virginia. This narrative was written much later, after he had become a Christian and regained his freedom. It was published first in England and later in the United States as part of the anti-slavery movement. Equiano's obvious intelligence and his fervent Christianity were offered as proof that slavery was a degrading and unjust institution. Though the author stressed his own conversion, he also remembered the traditional beliefs of his boyhood among the Ibo. Many other slaves who left no written record recalled such beliefs, which formed the basis of African religious derivatives in America.

Catalog Number 67

44. Phillis Wheatley (1753-1784). *Poems on various subjects, Religious and Moral*. London, 1773.

The black poet Phillis Wheatley was a member of a congregation in Boston as well as being the slave of a prosperous tailor in that town. Her poetry revealed that a slave could be well versed in Christianity. This fact made her a popular symbol for whites who hoped to see all the blacks in America, and eventually in all of Africa, Christianized. This portrait appeared as the frontispiece of a collection of Phillis's poems, published in 1773.

Catalog Number 68

45. Samuel Davies (1723-1761).

Letters from the Rev. Samuel Davies, etc. shewing the State of Religion in Virginia, particularly among the Negroes. London, 1757.

Samuel Davies, a Presbyterian minister, was sent by the New York synod to minister to a newly-gathered church in Hanover County, Virginia. The most important of the growing number of dissenting ministers in that colony, Davies battled with authorities for a license to preach and, in effect, to win toleration for all dissenters there. Davies worked to establish the first presbytery in Virginia and took an active part in the religious education of Blacks. He enjoyed great success in converting slaves, despite the lack of cooperation he received from many slaveowners in this endeavor.

Catalog Number 70

CONFLICTING TRENDS IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY COLONIAL RELIGION

Two different religious trends emerged in the eighteenth century that threatened to divide the colonists into opposing camps. First, religious revivals swept through the colonies beginning in the late 1730s, converting many to a highly emotional, deeply personal Christianity. At the same time, although over a longer period, other colonists moved toward a less emotional, more rational, approach to religiosity. These two groups, the evangelical and the liberal, seemed destined to oppose one another. Yet despite real contention, they did ultimately find some common ground for concerted action, coming together to a remarkable extent in the American Revolution.

46. Jonathan Edwards (1703-1758). *A Treatise Concerning Religious Affections*. Boston, 1746.

At the death of his grandfather Solomon Stoddard, Jonathan Edwards took charge of the congregation in Northampton, Massachusetts. Under his ministry, the community experienced a spiritual revival which was described by Edwards in a pamphlet published in 1737. When this revival and others like it were attacked by the Boston minister Charles Chauncy as being irrational, Edwards responded with this *Treatise Concerning Religious Affections*, an attempt to explain the conversion experience and to describe the signs of true piety. Edwards revealed a sophisticated understanding of the workings of the human psyche, grounding religious experience in emotion or affection more than in intellect.

Catalog Number 73

47. Charles Chauncy (1705-1787). *Enthusiasm Described and Caution'd Against*. Boston, 1742.

Charles Chauncy, for many years the minister of Boston's First Church, became increasingly involved throughout his lifetime in the rational religious movement. He came out against the Great Awakening in sermons and in print, prompting Jonathan Edwards to respond by publishing his pro-revival works. *Enthusiasm Described and Caution'd Against* traced the evangelical party back to all the mystical "heresies" that challenged the New England Way over the years. Chauncy saw a natural progression from Anne Hutchinson and the antinomians through the Quakers down to the revivalists of his own day.

Catalog Number 77

48. John Locke (1632-1704). *A Letter Concerning Toleration*. Boston, 1743.

John Locke has been called "America's philosopher" because of the impact of his ideas on eighteenth-century American intellectuals. Locke embraced the liberal view that the primary goal of religion was "the regulating of Mens Lives according to the Rules of Vertue and Piety." Because persecution was by definition unchristian, Locke advocated the toleration of all beliefs as long as they did not pose an extreme threat to civil peace. *A Letter Concerning Toleration* was first published in 1689. In 1743, responding to the intolerant position adopted by the Yale president and governors during the Great Awakening, some members of the senior class contributed toward the publication of a reprint of Locke's *Letter*. The president of Yale, Thomas Clap, supposedly threatened to withhold degrees from any students who refused to make a public confession of their part in the project. Despite President Clap's objections, this edition went to press in Boston.

Catalog Number 76

49. Thomas Paine (1737-1809). *The Rights of Man*. London, 1792. Frontispiece.

Thomas Paine came to Philadelphia from England in 1774 and immediately subscribed to the patriot cause. His *Common Sense*, published in 1776, was unquestionably the single most important pamphlet of the Revolutionary era. Returning to Europe in 1787, Paine became involved in the French Revolution and published a number of other radical works, some of which had direct bearing on religion. One of these, *The Age of Reason*, created a huge controversy in the United States.

Catalog Figure V. 5

50. Thomas Paine (1737-1809). *The Age of Reason*. Boston, 1794.

Probably the most pervasive rational religious position adopted in colonial society was deism, which received classic expression in Thomas Paine's *The Age of Reason*. Most deists held that God created the universe in accordance with natural laws that were comprehensible to the human mind. A few, like Paine, went so far as to reject all revealed religion, arguing that only that which could be grasped through reason could be considered true. In this passage, Paine explained his conviction that the revolution in government that had occurred in the United States should be accompanied by a revolution in religion. Although Paine hoped to see the young United States lead the way in the adoption of a more "enlightened" religion, his ideas were denounced by many as atheistic.

Catalog Number 79

51. Samuel Sherwood (1730-1783). *The Church's Flight into the Wilderness*. New York, 1776.

Despite the religious differences that divided them, proponents of traditional Christianity were often able to join with religious radicals like Paine in the fight against British rule. For centuries Christians had been awaiting the apocalyptic events prophesied in the Book of Revelation. The American Revolution was understood by many in terms of these scriptural prophecies. In this sermon, Connecticut Congregationalist minister Samuel Sherwood interpreted the imperial struggle in this apocalyptic context. Such religious rhetoric fortified patriots in their cause, making it easier to take the revolutionary step of overthrowing British rule in favor of their own political independence.

Catalog Number 81

52. "The Mitred Minuet." From the *Royal American Magazine*, Boston, 1774.

This cartoon illustrates the fear among the colonists, especially in New England, that the Church of England was conspiring with political powers in Britain to suppress American liberties. This fear motivated some colonists to join the patriots' cause. Paul Revere engraved this copy from a plate that originally appeared in the *London Magazine*.

Catalog Figure IV. 1

LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE ENDORSED

The Revolutionary era witnessed the endorsement of the right to liberty of conscience in the newly-created nation. The battle over this issue was fought first in Virginia, where the Anglican establishment was crumbling under the weight of the patriots' opposition to English political rule. The revolutionary leaders in Virginia could decide to erect a new religious establishment or they could carry their political revolution into the spiritual realm by endorsing complete liberty of conscience. Thomas Jefferson took the lead in advocating the latter course.

53. Thomas Jefferson (1743-1826). *Notes on the State of Virginia*. [Paris,] 1785.

Written in 1781 in answer to a set of questions sent by a French official to every state, Thomas Jefferson's *Notes on the State of Virginia* presented a thorough account of Virginia's history and current situation. Among other things, Jefferson treated the Anglican establishment in the colony and advocated complete religious toleration as a

substitute for it. Jefferson's *Notes* were originally printed privately for distribution to his friends; this is one of these rare first edition copies. The next year a French edition was published, without the author's permission. Because the first French edition was poorly done, Jefferson was persuaded to prepare an authorized edition for publication. *Notes on the State of Virginia* subsequently went through numerous editions; this portrait of Jefferson appeared as a frontispiece to the 1801 Boston edition.

Catalog Number 87 and Figure VI. 2

54. *A Collection of all such Acts of the General Assembly of Virginia, of a Public & Permanent Nature, as are Now in Force.* Richmond, 1794.

This collection included the "Act for Establishing Freedom of Religion in Virginia," the first major move toward adopting liberty of conscience during the Revolutionary era. Composed by Jefferson in 1777, the Act would set the tone for other Revolutionary documents on this question. Still, it was passed only after a decade-long struggle in the Virginia legislature.

Catalog Number 85

55. James Madison (1751-1836). *The Anti-tyther. A Memorial and Remonstrance.* Dublin, 1786.

Madison's *Memorial and Remonstrance* was composed in 1785 in opposition to "A Bill Establishing a Provision for Teachers of Christian Religion" that was being considered by the legislature. The Bill was part of a movement to establish Christianity as the official religion, with freedoms granted only to those who professed it in some form. Madison, however, eloquently advocated complete liberty of

conscience instead. After the Teacher's Bill was defeated, the way was open for the passage of Jefferson's Act guaranteeing religious freedom. The Dublin edition of Madison's *Memorial* was published, with a revised title, to convince the English Parliament to adopt similar policies. The John Carter Brown Library has the only known surviving copy of this edition.

Catalog Number 86

56. *A Collection of Testimonies in favor of Religious Liberty in the Case of the Dissenters, Catholics, and Jews, by a Christian Politician.* London, 1790.

Political and social attitudes in Britain took a conservative turn in the 1790s as the French Revolution grew more and more violent. This pamphlet, compiled to combat the conservative trend, cited the American example to prove that liberty did not always lead to anarchy. The Virginia Assembly's "Act for Establishing Freedom of Religion" was reprinted, and such American luminaries as George Washington and Benjamin Franklin were quoted. The example set by the new United States gave encouragement to European liberals for years to come and was often cited to bolster arguments in favor of religious equality and individual freedoms.

Catalog Number 91

57. *The Holy Bible*. Philadelphia, 1782.

Robert Aitken's translation of the Bible, which appeared in 1782, was the first complete English edition published in America. The United States Congress, then meeting in Philadelphia, endorsed the work with a public resolution, the only such endorsement ever made by Congress. Before the decade was out, the ratification of the First Amendment of the Constitution would thereafter limit the government's freedom to make recommendations regarding religion.

Catalog Figure VI. 8

**CONTINUING DIVERSITY IN THE REVOLUTIONARY
ERA**

The religious diversity that had rendered freedom of choice so necessary to the new nation increased during the Revolutionary era and beyond. As had always been the case, some new faiths were imported, while others were created in the New World.

58. Hannah Adams (1755-1831). *An Alphabetical Compendium of the Various Sects*. Boston, 1784.

Ann Lee, the English founder of the new sect known as the Shakers, arrived in the colonies just as the official break with England occurred. The Shakers were viewed with suspicion at first, but were eventually accepted as the sincere religious group they were. Hannah Adams included the relatively new sect in her *Alphabetical Compendium* in 1784. That a Boston press produced this objective treatment of sectarianism is an indication of how far that once intolerant town had come.

Catalog Number 89

59. Francis Asbury (1745-1816). *An Extract from the Journal of Francis Asbury, Bishop of the Methodist-Episcopal Church in America, from August 7, 1771, to December 29, 1778*. Philadelphia, 1792.

Methodism, which began as a pietist movement within the Church of England, broke with that church to form a separate denomination in both England and America during the 1780s. In 1784, Francis Asbury, the son of a tenant farmer and himself a blacksmith by training, became the first bishop of the Methodist Church in America. He had originally come to America as a missionary. His *Journal* recounted his efforts and the growth of Methodism during these early years.

Catalog Number 90

60. *A Manual of Catholic Prayers*. Philadelphia, 1774.

Roman Catholicism grew slowly in the colonies during the eighteenth century. By the time of the Revolution enough Catholics were living in the Philadelphia area to warrant the publication of a number of religious tracts. This *Manual of Catholic Prayers* was one of the first works produced in North America for the use of Catholics. The John Carter Brown Library copy is one of two known copies of the *Manual*.

Catalog Figure IV. 3.

61. Ethan Allen (1738-1789). *Reason the Only Oracle of Man*. Bennington, Vermont, 1784.

Deism, or the belief in the existence of God on purely rational grounds, was first openly voiced during the American Revolutionary period. This famous pamphlet by Ethan Allen was the first deist work published in the United States. Allen's views were similar to those held by many other Revolutionary leaders, including Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson. Unlike these contemporaries, Allen was primarily a war hero and a local political leader, and not as adept as they with his pen. This, his only publication, indicated how widespread deist ideas were becoming. Allen confided in his preface that although his acquaintances tell him he is a deist, he has never read any deist works himself. This edition, the first, is rare, because a fire at the printer's shop destroyed most copies. Legend has it that the printer intentionally burned still more of the first edition copies because of what he considered to be their atheistic content.

Catalog Number 78

CHAMPIONS OF RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

Roger Williams was the earliest and most famous colonist to champion religious freedom. Other individuals supported liberty of conscience, but it was rare to appeal for universal application of this doctrine. The success of the principle of liberty in America was the result of the advocacy ultimately of many voices.

62. *A Moderate And Safe Expedient*. [London?], 1646.

As early as 1646, one anonymous English pamphleteer was advocating liberty of conscience for all Roman Catholics. Realizing that this bold suggestion had little hope of success, the author went on to propose a policy of encouraging the country's Catholics to emigrate to the colony of Maryland. Lord Baltimore, the proprietor of Maryland, was one of the few aristocrats openly professing Catholicism during this era, and his coreligionists were welcomed there.

Catalog Number 49

63. Durand of Dauphiné, fl. 1685-1687. *Voyages D'Un François, Exilé pour la Religion*. The Hague, 1687.

A Huguenot named Durand traveled in the colonies after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes forced him to leave his native France. In this passage from his journal, Durand recounts an offer made by the governor of Virginia: limited religious freedom to any Huguenots who chose to settle there. Although the Church of England was officially established in Virginia at the time that this conversation supposedly took place, the governor may well have offered sanctuary to Huguenots, for their form of Protestantism was not unlike Anglicanism. Indeed, many Huguenot settlers in British North America would eventually convert to the Church of England. Still, the governor's offer was not the endorsement of religious liberty that it might at first appear to be, and Durand was not particularly impressed by it.

Catalog Number 61

64. William Penn (1644-1718). *A Perswasive to Moderation to Church Dissenters*. [London, 1686].

William Penn, the founder of the colony of Pennsylvania, was a member of the English gentry and the son of a great admiral. As a young man he converted to Quakerism, one of the first male members of his social class to join that sect. In 1681 he convinced Charles II to grant him a tract of land in America to clear a £16,000 debt the King owed to the Penn family. Penn played a significant part in organizing the colony's government, land distribution, and policy of religious equality. In *A Perswasive to Moderation*, he advocated the liberty of conscience he so actively promoted in both West Jersey and Pennsylvania.

Catalog Number 38

65. Isaac Backus (1724-1806). *A History of New-England, with Particular Reference to the Denomination of Christians called Baptists*. Providence, 1784.

Protection of one's own right to freedom of worship was a fairly common reason for supporting a policy of liberty of conscience during the colonial period. The great Baptist minister Isaac Backus hoped for the day when all America would embrace the Baptist faith. Until such a day came, he advocated legal religious equality as a way to protect those he considered true believers. In this passage from his journal, Backus describes how the Warren Association (a group of New England Baptist churches) sent delegates to the Continental Congress meeting in Philadelphia in 1774. The delegates advocated the adoption of a policy of religious liberty, and, as a result, were accused of trying to destroy

the Union of the states. Not until 1789 would the First Congress of the United States follow the delegates' advice by adopting the Bill of Rights.

Catalog Number 84

The John Carter Brown Library collection includes many "firsts" in the history of colonial religious publications. These two Bibles are both "firsts" of a special kind. Elsewhere in the exhibition are displayed the first English language Bible, produced by Robert Aitken in Philadelphia in 1782, and a translation of Luther's Catechism into the Delaware Indian language, the first known translation of a Christian document into a North American Indian language.

66. John Eliot (1604-1690), translator. *Mamusse Wunneetupanatamwe Up-Biblum God*. Cambridge [Mass.], 1663.

John Eliot, the Puritan missionary to the Indians, translated the Bible into an Algonquin dialect as part of his labors. The task, which involved developing a written language that would be comprehensible to the local tribes as well as translating the entire Bible into that language, took over a decade to complete. A printer and a press had to be sent from England to publish the work because the press at Harvard College was inadequate to a task of this magnitude. The first Bible printed in the English colonies in any tongue, its publication marked the high point of the limited Puritan efforts to convert Massachusetts Indians to Christianity.

Catalog Number 24

67. Christoph Saur (1693-1758), publisher and printer. *Biblia, das ist: Die Heilige Schrift Altes und Neues Testaments*. Germantown, Pennsylvania, 1743.

Christoph Saur, a member of the German sect known as the Dunkers, became a famous publisher and bookseller in America. The type for this Bible had to be brought from Frankfurt, but Saur eventually assembled craftsmen in Germantown who could make paper, ink, and type. This was the first Bible printed in a European language in the colonies. Earlier, Christians in North America had relied on Bibles imported from Europe.

Catalog Number 64

Although a lifelong advocate of "soul liberty", Roger Williams had strong convictions about theology. In his debates with the Quakers he was able to argue vigorously for his own beliefs without abandoning the principle of liberty of conscience.

68. Roger Williams (1604?-1683). *George Fox Digg'd Out of his Burrowes*. Boston, 1676.

In 1672, as an old man, Williams participated in a debate with three traveling Quakers which stretched out over four days. This pamphlet, the last work published by Williams before his death, and the only work by Williams published in America during his lifetime, was an outgrowth of this debate. That Williams's treatment of the subject was considered acceptable in the colony from which he had been banished some forty years earlier is demonstrated by the inscription in the John Carter Brown Library copy: "Thomas Shepard's Book: given me by the honorable Jno Leveret, Governor of the Massachusetts, 30:6:77."

Catalog Number 19

69. George Fox (1624-1691) and John Burnyeat (1631-1690). A *New-England-Fire-brand Quenched*. [London,] 1678.

The Quakers replied to Williams's pamphlet in kind, coming out with this work two years later. John Burnyeat had been one of the three debaters on the Quaker side, while Fox was the man Williams had originally challenged to a disputation. The vehemence of the language on both sides was typical of the pamphlet exchanges on religious subjects during this era.

Catalog Number 20

70. John Burnyeat (1631-1690). *The Truth Exalted in the Writings of that Eminent and Faithful Servant of Christ John Burnyeat*. London, 1691.

The Society of Friends often collected writings by and testimonials about traveling Quakers, which were published posthumously to edify and instruct other members of the sect. John Burnyeat was one early Friend whose memory was kept alive in this way. In this passage from his journal, Burnyeat describes Roger Williams's challenging of the Quakers to a debate. Earlier, Burnyeat had traveled through northern New England and met with some Gortonists in Rhode Island.

PANELS

A Mapp of New Jersey in America. London, 1677.

The promotional description of New Jersey appended to this map promises liberty of conscience to all prospective settlers. The Society of Friends was largely responsible for the settlement of West New Jersey, which explains this unusual policy. Believing that every individual was blessed with an inner light that could guide him or her to lead a godly life, the Quakers advocated religious freedom in order to allow this "spirit of truth" free expression. Within five years, most Quaker immigrants to the colonies would be headed for the as-yet-unfounded Pennsylvania, where a similar policy was adopted.

John Bowen (Northbridge, Massachusetts) and Phebe Congdon (Providence, Rhode Island). [*Quaker Marriage Certificate*] 1781.

This certificate offers a glimpse of a marriage that took place in Providence during the Revolutionary era. In order to marry within the Meeting, both John Bowen and Phebe Congdon had to have their "clearness" from other commitments certified by their local monthly Meeting. The marriage itself took place without a clergyman or a Justice of the Peace; rather Bowen and Congdon were married with a simple exchange in the presence of their fellow Quakers. Afterwards many local members of the Society signed the document.

Courtesy of the New England Meeting of the Society of Friends.

A Poem on the Joyful News of the Rev. Mr. Whitefield's visit to Boston. Boston, 1754.

This 1754 broadside, published on the occasion of the second of George Whitefield's major tours of the colonies, defended the great preacher against various charges leveled against him in the preceding fifteen years. This is one of only two known surviving copies of the broadside.

Catalog Figure V. 2.

Some Poetical Thoughts on the Difficulties our Fore-Fathers endured in planting Religious and Civil Liberty in this Western World. [New Haven, 1774?]

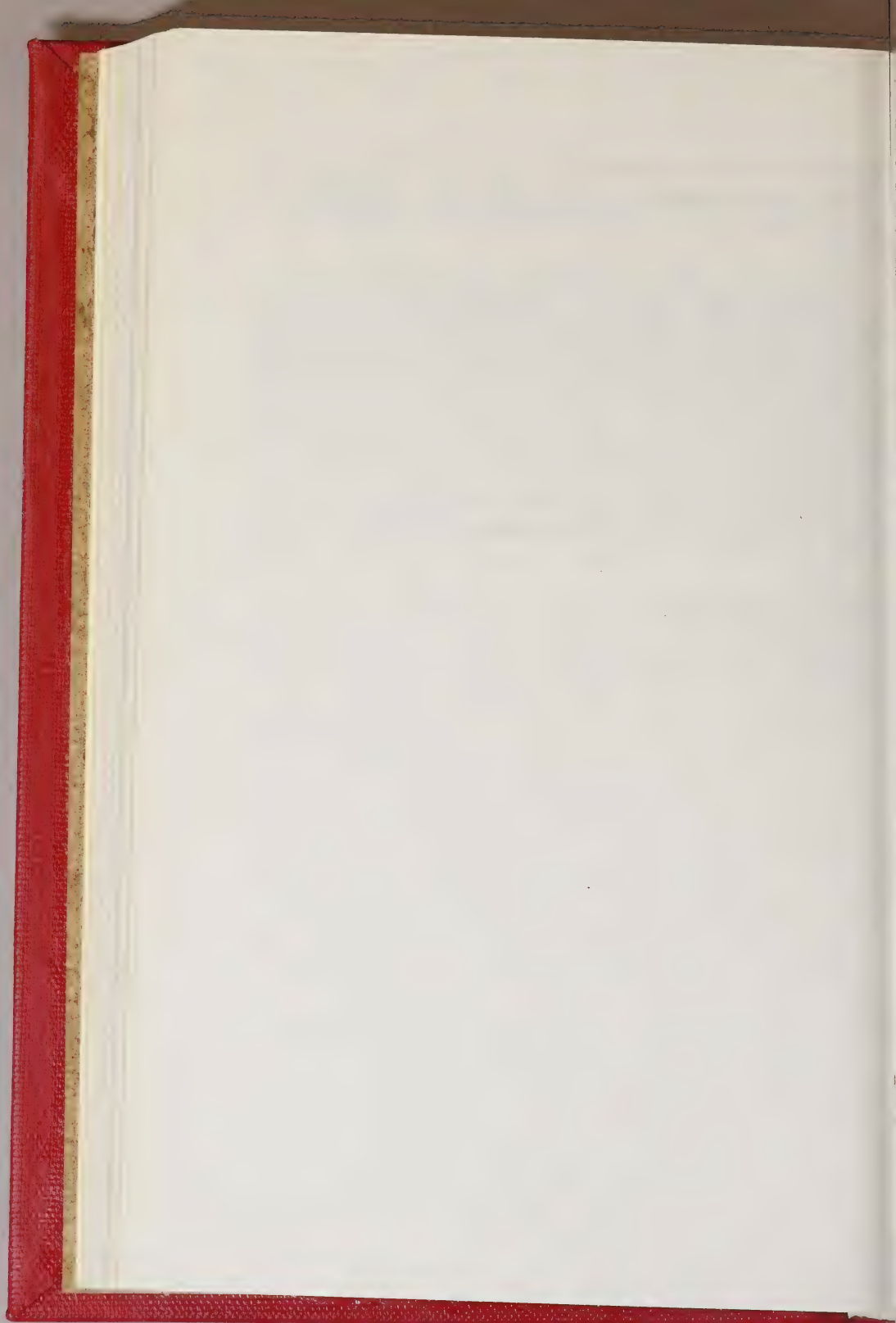
As the American Revolution approached, religious and political liberties were increasingly connected in many minds. In this anonymous broadside, the history of colonial religious intolerance was overlooked.

Catalog Figure V.6.

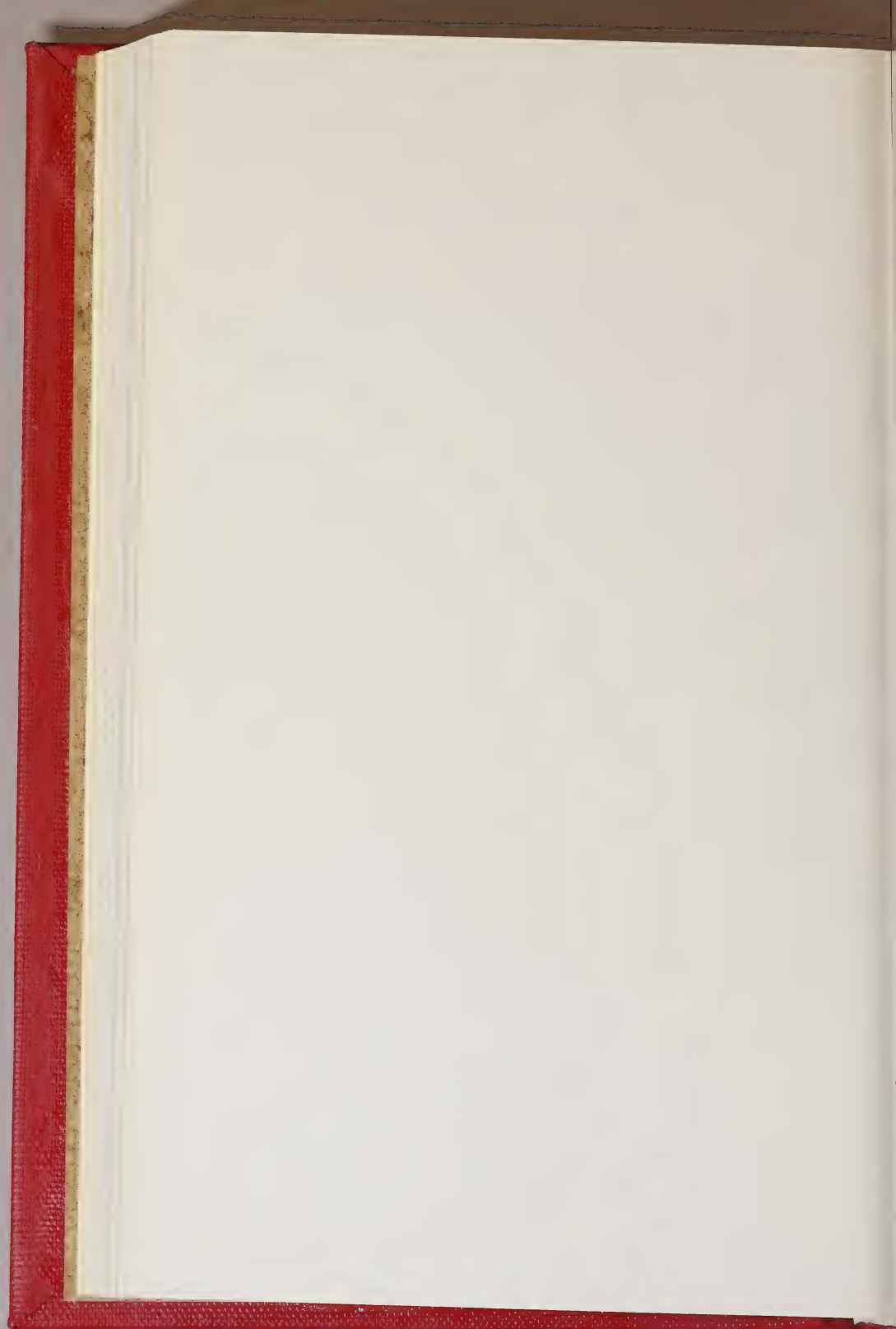
The Bill of Rights, and amendments to the Constitution of the United States, as agreed to by the Convention of the State of Rhode-Island and Providence-Plantations. [Providence, 1790]

Rhode Island was the last state to ratify the Constitution. One objection to the Constitution that was voiced in the state was that the document lacked a bill of rights. The state convention considering the ratification question therefore drew up its own list of rights, which naturally included the right to religious liberty. Rhode Islanders were soon persuaded to join the union, in part by the passage of another such Bill of Rights by the first session of the Congress. The John Carter Brown Library copy is the only copy of this document known to have survived.

Catalog Number 88











SHIPWRECKS, SEA-MONSTERS,
SAILORS, AND SCURVY





SHIPWRECKS, SEA-MONSTERS, SAILORS,
AND SCURVY

An Exhibition at the John Carter Brown Library

October 5 to December 11, 1987

Prepared by

A. F. Gunther Buchheim

Ilse E. Kramer

Dennis C. Landis

Providence, Rhode Island

1987

THE JOHN CARTER BROWN LIBRARY is an independently funded and administered center for advanced research in the humanities at Brown University. In order to facilitate and encourage use of the Library's outstanding collection of printed materials concerning the Americas from 1493 to ca. 1830, the Library offers fellowships, sponsors lectures and conferences, regularly mounts exhibitions for the public and publishes catalogues, bibliographies, facsimiles, and other works that interpret the Library's holdings. For further information about the Library and its various programs, write to: Director, The John Carter Brown Library, Box 1894, Providence, RI 02912.

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Cover illustration from: Petrus Nylandt. *Den verstandigen hovenier*. Amsterdam, 1677. (Catalogue number 15)

SHIPWRECKS

Ever since man first decided, in time immemorial, to leave behind the relative safety of the fixed land and to venture onto the open sea, the real danger of a shipwreck has been ever-present. While improvements in navigational instruments and skills and in the construction and rigging of vessels went far toward making voyages safer, nevertheless adverse conditions (such as storms, strong currents or huge waves, fog and icebergs) have at all times played havoc with even the best conceived plans. The majority of shipwrecks have occurred in coastal waters, due to the increased hazards of rocks, shoals, reefs and other physical impediments.

The illustrations shown in this exhibit give a powerful testimony of the devastating forces leading to shipwrecks, but also of the courage of the ships' crews clinging to their lives in the face of adversity.

Shipwrecks connected with famous men and events in the history of discovery, exploration and settlement of the Americas: 1) Christopher Columbus; 2) Hans Staden; 3) John White; 4) John Smith

1.) Girolamo Benzoni, b. 1519.

Das vierdte Buch von der Neuwen Welt. Oder neuwe vnd gründtliche Historien, von dem Nidergängischen Indien, so von Christophoro Columbo im Jar 1492. erstlich erfunden. Frankfurt, 1594 (Theodor de Bry's America. Pt. 4. German).

Plate XI.

During **Columbus's** second voyage to the New World in 1493, while at the island of Hispaniola, a strong hurricane devastated the coastal regions and destroyed all but three ships of the Spanish fleet, with loss of many lives. Even the three surviving ships were heavily damaged and had to be urgently repaired, before Columbus could return to Spain.

2.) Hans Staden, 16th cent. (d. 1556).

Dritte Buch Americae, darinn Brasilia durch Johann Staden von Hamberg aus Hessen, auss eigener Erfahrung in Teutsch beschrieben. Item ... Frankfurt, 1593 [i.e., 1624] (Theodor de Bry's *America*. Pt. 3. German).

Page 16.

On his second voyage to South America, from Spain to Brazil (1549 - 1554), **Hans Staden** suffered shipwreck near São Vicente Island (in the neighborhood of present-day São Paulo). He later was captured by the Tupi Indians and, after many ordeals and often being close to death, was finally rescued by the captain of a French ship which had come to Brazil to trade with the Indians.

3.) Thomas Hariot, 1560-1621.

A briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia. Frankfurt, 1590 (Theodor de Bry's *America*. Pt. 1. English).

Plate II.

This famous engraving by de Bry, headed "The arriuall of the Englishemen in Virginia", after a drawing (now lost) by **John White** who participated in five voyages to North America, shows several narrow islands of the Carolina Outer Banks and, in left center, Roanoke Island, the site of the first two British settlements in the New World (1585-1586; 1587-1588?).

While the text describes the arrival of the first English expedition, sent out by Sir Walter Raleigh, in 1584, the drawing was not made then; rather it represents the situation in the middle of June 1586, after a devastating hurricane on 13 June. This storm caused the destruction of many of the smaller ships of the fleet assembled under the command of Sir Francis Drake which had stopped at the Carolina Outer Banks, after voyaging to the West Indies, to visit with and take some supplies to the first English colony.

It was the loss of these supplies in the shipwrecks (5 stranded ships are depicted) that convinced Ralph Lane, governor of the colonists, to abandon the settlement, and he and his men hastily left North America and returned to England on several of Drake's ships.

4.) Amerigo Vespucci, 1451-1512.

Zehender Theil Americae. Darinnen zubefinden: Erstlich zwei Schiffarten Herrn Americi Vesputii ... Zum andern: Ein gründlicher Bericht von dem jetzigen Zustand der Landschaft Virginien, ... durch Raphe Homar ... beschrieben, ... Zum dritten: Ein wahrhafftige Beschreibung dess Newen Engellands, ... von Capitein Johann Schmiden, ... beschrieben. Oppenheim, 1618 (Theodor de Bry's America. Pt. 10. German).

Plate XII.

The engraving shows the wreckage of three French ships during a storm near the French coast at La Rochelle in November 1615 and the escape of Captain **John Smith** (1580-1631) in a small open boat (top left) to an island at the mouth of the Charente River. Nearly drowned and close to death from fear, cold and hunger, Smith was rescued by fowlers. He had been on his way to New England (his second voyage to this region) when he was taken prisoner by French privateers and pirates near the Azores.

Other shipwrecks in North America
(arranged in chronological order):

5.) Dirck Albertsz Raven.

Journael van de ongeluckighe voyagie, gedaen by den commandeur Dirck Albertsz. Raven, naer Groenlandt, in den jare 1639. Amsterdam, [1663?].

Title page vignette.

The Dutch merchant ship *Spitsberghen* was heavily damaged on 22 May 1639 in a storm east of Greenland. The vessel lay helplessly on its side, tossed around by the waves. After an ordeal of two days without food and water and suffering from extreme cold, 20 survivors (of a crew of 84) were rescued by the Dutch ship *Oranje-boom*.

6.) Claude Le Beau.

Geschichte des Herrn C. Le Beau, Advocat im Parlament. Oder Merckwürdige und neue Reise zu den Wilden des nordlichen Theils von America. Translated from the French. Erfurt, 1751.

Volume 1: plate facing p. 54.

The French Royal ship *L'Eléphant*, on its way from La Rochelle, France, to Quebec, found itself entangled in a heavy storm in the St. Lawrence River, at about midnight on 15 June 1729. The ship was pushed against some rocks and had to be abandoned after it capsized.



Number 2 in catalogue

Wm
Gordon in Virginia Shoburn 15 1/2 1/2
Capt. Daniel Brown Died Sept 18 1861
a fine last 6' at 18 1/2

Number 23 in catalogue

The engraving shows the survivors who lost all their belongings and had to walk all the way to Quebec City, a distance of about 55 miles, without any roads available. The ship on the left is a French privateer which refused to come to the help of her shipwrecked countrymen out of fear for her own safety.

7.) Barnabas Downs, 1757-1817.

A brief and remarkable narrative of the life and extreme sufferings of Barnabas Downs, Jun. Boston, 1786.

Title page vignette.

An account of the shipwreck of the American privateer *General Arnold* on a shoal in Plymouth Harbor during a severe northeast storm and in ice-cold weather. This naval disaster happened during the War of Independence, on Christmas day of the year 1778; 72 men (of the crew of 120) perished, and many of the survivors had frozen limbs, including the author of the present pamphlet who lost both feet.

Purchased from the Trust Fund of Lathrop Colgate Harper.

8.) Barnabas Downs, 1757-1817.

A brief and remarkable narrative of the life and extreme sufferings of Barnabas Downs, Jun. Yarmouthport, Massachusetts, 1972.

Title page.

A facsimile of the 1786 edition, printed from the copy in the John Carter Brown Library (no. 7 above) by the Meriden Gravure Company, with an introduction by Samuel J. Hough.

Shipwreck leading to accidental discovery of
island group in the Pacific Ocean: the Palau
("Pelew") Islands.

9.) George Keate, 1729-1797.

*An account of the Pelew Islands, situated in the western part
of the Pacific Ocean.* London, 1788.

Map.

Gift of the Associates of the John Carter Brown Library.

10.) George Keate, 1729-1797.

*Relation des Isles Pelew, situées dans le partie occidentale de
l'océan Pacifique.* Paris, 1788. Translated from the
English.

Plate facing p. 116.

During the night of August 9 to 10, 1783, the British mail ship *Antelope* under the command of Captain Henry Wilson and with a crew of 50, was shipwrecked on a coral reef in heavy seas and a terrible rainstorm. Without loss of life, the crew was able to get off the reef in their lifeboats.

Subsequently, contact with the indigenous population on the islands beyond the reef was established, and the British sailors, the first Europeans to arrive here, were well received. During the next 3 months, through mutual respect and trust, the members of the two vastly different cultures generally arranged to live in harmony and friendship. After building a new vessel with tools and supplies from their stranded ship, the Englishmen left the Palau Islands on 12 November 1783 and returned to Macao, the Portuguese port

south of Canton, China, where they had started their voyage in July of the same year.

On the map, Canton, China, is shown in the top left corner, and the Palau Islands are found in the lower center (east of the Philippines and west of the Carolines). The plate depicts the arrival of a group of Englishmen in their boat at the island of Pelelew, accompanied by an outrigger boat manned by native Palau islanders.

Purchased from the Louisa D. Sharpe Metcalf Fund.

Example of a shipwreck in an account of imaginary voyages:

11.) Franz Urban Bawier, b. 1674.

Des See-Capitains Franz Urban Bawier Merckwürdige Reisen und Begebenheiten , seine Kriegsdienste zu Lande, Seefahrten nach Ost-und Westindien und endliche Wohlfarth. Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1752.

Plate facing p. 324.

During a heavy thunderstorm, on an island near Malacca in South East Asia, lightning strikes one of three ships of a British naval force and sets it on fire; the fire leads to an explosion which destroys the ship completely; some of the burning wreckage is blown by the strong winds to the companion ship which is also set on fire; and the third ship [not shown in the illustration] is thrown to the beach and

also completely wrecked. The majority of the sailors and soldiers, being on an expedition on land, survive, but the sailors left on the ships all perish.

Literary account of a shipwreck:

12.) William Falconer, 1732-1769.

The shipwreck, a poem. The eighth edition, corrected.
Philadelphia, 1788.

Pages [40-41].

The poem is divided into three cantos, and the scene is set in the eastern Mediterranean (the Aegean Sea), between the island of Crete ("Candia") and the island of Ayios Yeórios ("St. George") off the southern tip of Attica in Greece. The left-hand page (p. [40]) shows the contents of the second canto of the poem. Other pages [not shown] often have footnotes explaining nautical terms.

SEA-MONSTERS

The mermaid myth has been explained by the encounter of seafaring men with a now extinct sea creature, which had a somewhat human appearance and evoked fantasies in the minds of men confined to monotonous lives on board ship. Quasi-historical instances of the sighting or capture of mermaids are quite common.

Mermaid legends exist in many countries. Even the Ottawas and other American Indians have their man-fish and woman-fish. Usually the mermaid (sometimes called Galatea, Nixe, or Undine) is said to bring disaster in her train. She has the power to disclose the future course of events. On occasion, a mermaid falls in love with a human being, lives with him for a time, then departs to her true home in the sea.

In some cases the mermaid is depicted as unappealing as a manatee, but more often we find her portrayed with pleasing features; she is frequently represented as combing her long and lovely hair with one hand while holding a looking-glass in the other.

13.) Francesco Redi, 1626-1697 or 8.

Experimenta circa res diversas naturales ... Ex Italico Latinitate donata. Amsterdam, 1675.

"'Pece Muger', or 'Pesci Donne', reportedly having been seen off the coast of Brazil, has tender bones, which [when used in the proper manner] promote chastity, inhibit carnal desires, render men impotent, and are useful in many other ways for the good of the body."

("Haec ossa multum prosunt castitati, & ad reprimendos motus carnales: quin homines reddunt impotentes, & multis aliis in rebus inserviunt ad salutem corporis".)

14.) Girolamo Benzoni, b. 1519.

America pars quarta. Frankfurt, 1594. (Theodor de Bry's *America*. Pt. 4. Latin).

Theodor de Bry's hand-colored engraving portrays Columbus gazing at seductive sirens, one of whom carries a quiver full of arrows and almost appears to be part amazon, part mermaid.

15.) Petrus Nylandt, fl. 1669-1686.

Den verstandigen hovenier, over de twaelf maenden van't jaer. Zijnde het II. deel van Het vermakelyck landt-leven. Amsterdam, 1677.

This Dutch author talks about the "wonders of the sea". According to him, merpeople are capable of living on land, learning how to break bread with humans, yet they forever remain without speech. The illustration shows a "knight of the ocean" and his noble wife with her comb and mirror.

15 a.) *Tarih-i Hind-i garbi*. Constantinople, 1730.

The title of this book can be translated as *Description of the India of the West according to recent discoveries*. The text consists of partial translations of Spanish works.

This is the first book on the New World written and published east of Italy and the Holy Roman Empire. As such, it is a source of information about knowledge of the Americas in the Ottoman Empire. The earliest manuscript of this work is dated 1583. The printed version on display is considered a Turkish incunable; it is the fourth book to come off a Turkish printing press.

The interest in the fantastic and fabulous that was common to the Islamic world is apparent in the illustrations of this work. The picture shown depicts two Indians trying to pull two mermen to shore.

16.) Pierre François Xavier de Charlevoix, 1682-1761.

Histoire de l'isle espagnole ou de S. Domingue ... Tome troisième. Amsterdam, 1733.

Mermonsters are considered to have decorative and symbolic qualities, and representations are found in certain heraldic designs. In this case a two-tailed sea-woman and sea-man are used as the border of the title vignette.

17.) Albert Krantz, d. 1517.

Chronica regnorum aquilonarium Daniae Suetiae Noruagiae. Strassburg, 1546 [i.e. 1548].

This ornamental trio in the initial seems to be serenading the Gentle Reader.

18.) Olaus, Magnus, Archbishop of Uppsala, 1490-1557.

[*Carta marina*]. Rome, 1572.

This map shows an abundance of aquatic monsters.

The sea serpent is often reported to have been seen but is not identifiable with any known animal and is probably based on pure fiction. The sea unicorn has one or two long twisted tusks projecting like a horn. Its color has been likened to that of a human corpse.

19.) Olaus, Magnus, Archbishop of Uppsala, 1490-1557.

A compendious history of the Goths, Swedes, & Vandals, and other northern nations. London, 1658.

On display is chapter one on "Monstrous Fishes". This horror story of the wailing creatures from the Deep has been repeated through many editions and translations.

20.) Olaus, Magnus, Archbishop of Uppsala, 1490-1557.

Historia delle genti et della natura delle cose settentrionali. Venice, 1565.

The sea cow is based on a large aquatic mammal with rudimentary hind limbs. The mythical sea horse is a fabulous creature, half horse and half fish.

21.) Olaus, Magnus, Archbishop of Uppsala, 1490-1557.

Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus. Rome, 1555.

The sea hog more than likely represents an unattractive version of the porpoise or the dolphin.

22.) Simon de Vries, b. 1630.

Wonderen soo aen als in, en wonder-gevallen soo op als ontrent de zeeën, rivieren, meiren Amsterdam, 1687.

Much imagination was used by the artist who created this frontispiece. Especially impressive is what looks like a "griffin of the sea".

SAILORS

This part of the exhibition is designed to demonstrate the "human element" as discovered and examined in some of the maritime works in the Library.

The diverse manuscript entries in these printed nautical books can be grouped in six categories:

1. The recording of biographical data or vital statistics. This includes the listing of events in persons' lives as well as inscriptions of names and dates by former owners.

2. The keeping of an abbreviated form of ship's log, a sort of journal of a journey. Mentioned are, for instance, locations, distances, speed, progress, and weather conditions.

3. Related to the above are a variety of calculations and accounts, to be found in a large number of the Library's volumes once used by sailors.

4. The adding of information and correcting of statements in the printed text, intended to provide further instructions and more precise directions.

5. The scribbling of poetry (original or copied), usually in fragments, which induce the reader to follow the fantasies of men on a long sea voyage.

6. The drawings and doodlings, some technical in nature, others amusing attempts to pass the time.

23.) *The English pilot. The fourth book. Describing the West-India navigation.* London, 1745.

Captain James Brown (1724-1751) was the eldest son of James and Hope (Power) Brown of Providence and the granduncle of John Carter Brown (1797-1874). He was master of the sloop *Chaniel* and died unmarried at York, Virginia.

This *pilot* was bought by Captain Brown in Boston in 1748. It is the earliest recorded acquisition of a book by a member of the Brown family which is currently part of the Library's collection.

24.) *The American coast pilot; containing directions for the principal harbors ... on the coast of North and part of South America ...* By Edmund M. Blunt. Twenty-first edition. New York, 1867.

Nautical books bound in sailcloth are quite common.

The initials on this particular cover are those of J. H. Widger, who purchased this copy in 1868.

A later owner is Augustus P. Loring (1915-1986), who made a gift of some forty editions of *The American coast pilot* to the Library.

25.) Nathaniel Colson.

The mariner's new calendar. ... The whole revis'd, and adjusted to the new stile, by William Mountaine, F. R. S. London, 1761.

This work was first published London, 1675; it was a standard navigation manual for over a century. The copy shown contains calculations as well as various manuscript notes and ink drawings.

Gift of Mr. Paul C. Nicholson, Jr.

26.) Herman Moll, d. 1732.

Atlas manuale: or, a new sett of maps of all the parts of the earth. London, 1723.

Displayed is a manuscript annotation concerning ambergris, "supposed to be ye excrements of a whale", which is still used in perfumery as a fixative. This atlas contains the bookplate of "The Right Hon. ble Henry Bowes Howard Earl of Suffolk & Berkshire. 1750."

27.) *The English pilot. The fourth book. Describing the West-India navigation.* London, 1749.

On the back endpapers of this copy, John Woodsum wrote in 1787:

"When this you see
remember me
and keep me Still in mind
and I am not like a weather cock
that Changes with the wind--
God made man and man made money
god made bees and bees made honey.
god made satan
and satan made sin.

The Lord have mercy on our Souls."

28.) *The English pilot. [The fourth book]. Describing the West-India navigation.* London, 1789.

This *English pilot* has copious manuscript notes throughout, including directions and instructions, love poems and accounts. The poem displayed was noticed by Admiral Steve Ritchie from Scotland, a research Fellow at the Library in 1986.

29.) *The American coast pilot, containing the courses & distances between the principal harbours ... from Passamaquoddy through the Gulph of Florida ... by Edmund M. Blunt. ... Eighth edition.* New York, 1815.

These drawings of the female form (with the emphasis on the décolletage) would appear to reflect sailors' dreams and desires.

Gift of Augustus P. Loring.

30.) *The American coast pilot: containing directions for the principal harours [sic] ... on the coast of North and South America ... By Edmund M. Blunt. Twelfth edition.* New York, 1833.

The endpaper in this copy shows pencil drawings of jibs.

Gift of Augustus P. Loring.



Capitulo ouer recetta delo arbore ouer Legno detto Guaiana: Remedio contra el male Gallico. Experimentato.



Dicono quelli che per transportar merce nauicano in India hauer veduto lo arbore ch' usano quelli de India cōtra el morbo gallico el qual certamente e picolo & spesso & le sue foglie sorile el trōco de dua brazza & la maggior sua grossezza e quanto e la grossezza del hōmo; & la sua scorza di color cinericio essere. El legno de questo sic māco

SYPHILIS AND SCURVY

Distant exploration was fraught with peril to the health of sailors, because the voyages required long absences from land and deprived them of fresh food. When contact was established with new populations, the Europeans experienced new dangers to health.

Scurvy

31.) Johann Theodor de Bry, 1561-1623?

Achter Theil der Orientalischen Indien ... auss niederländischer Verzeichnus in hochteutscher Sprache beschrieben, durch M. Gotthardt Artus. Frankfurt a. M., 1606. (Johann Theodor de Bry's *India Orientalis*. Pt. 8. German).

Includes Roelof Roelofsz's *Historische Beschreibung der Schiffart, so der Admiral Jacob von Neck ... gethan*, 1st publ., Frankfurt a. M., 1605, in *Zwo unterschiedliche neue Schiffahrten*. On page two an account is presented in which hapless sailors attempt to cure scurvy through ingestion of tobacco. From the original collection of John Carter Brown.

32.) James Lind, 1716-1794.

An essay on the most effectual means of preserving the health of seamen in the Royal Navy ... new edition, much enlarged. London, 1774.

The problem of scurvy attracted serious consideration by medical men in the eighteenth century. In this work, first published in London, 1757, Lind identified the cause of scurvy and means for its avoidance.

Pages 2 and 3.

33.) Antoine Poissonier-Desperrières, 1723-1795.

Mémoire sur les avantages qu'il y auroit à changer absolument la nourriture des gens de mer. Versailles, 1772.

With regular travel to established colonies in the New World, the European powers sought ways to improve the health of ships' crews by scientific means through changes in nutrition. Page six refers to incidents of scurvy.

34.) Great Britain. Admiralty. Committee on scurvy.

Report of the Committee ... to enquire into the causes of the outbreak of scurvy in the recent Arctic expedition. London, [1877].

As evidenced by this work on Arctic exploration, scurvy remained a problem long after its causes had been identified, as logistical problems prevented explorers from obtaining proper food supplies. A deposition concerning lime juice is presented on page 78.

Syphilis and America

35.) *European Americana: A chronological guide to works printed in Europe relating to the Americas, 1493-1776*, edited by John Alden with the assistance of Dennis C. Landis. New York: Readex Books, 1980.

The first volume of the John Carter Brown Library's landmark reference work is opened to the beginning of the index entries for syphilis. The literature of the fifteenth century is rife with material on the disease that was associated with the return to Europe of Columbus and his men.

36.) Niccolò Leonicensi, 1428-1524.

Libellus de epidemia quam vulgo morbum Gallicum vocant.
Venice, 1497.

One of the first books to discuss syphilis; the earliest such book held by the Library. From the printing house of Aldus Manutius, as indicated in the colophon.

37.) Pietro Bizzarri, b. 1525.

Senatus populi que Genuensis rerum domi foresque gestarum historiae atque annales. Antwerp, 1579.

On pages 371-376 is a substantial account of Columbus and Spanish exploration; p. 383 contains a reference to the possible New World source of syphilis. From the printing house of Christophe Plantin.

Curing Syphilis

Just as syphilis was widely accepted as indigenous to the New World, many believed that its cure, too, by divine providence, would be found in America. Guaiacum, a resin obtained from two species of tropical American trees, was among the earliest and most widely promoted of remedies.

38.) Girolamo Fracastoro, 1483-1553.

Syphilis, sive morbus Gallicus. Verona, 1530.

In verse. In book 3 is an allegorical description of the discovery of the West Indies by the Spanish and their encounter with both the disease syphilis and guaiacum ("Hyacum").

Leaf d2v.

39.) *Capitolo over ricetta delo arbore over legno detto guaiana [i.e, guaiaco]: remedio contra el male gallico*. [Venice,] 1520.

On the use of guaiacum for treating syphilis. The extent of the literature on treatment with guaiacum and the length of time the cure remained in vogue suggest the likelihood of a strong placebo effect.

Caption title with illustration.

40.) *Liber de morbo Gallico*. Venice, 1535.

Contains N. Leonicensis, *De epidemia quam Itali morbum Gallicum ... vocant* (1st publ., Venice, 1497); U. von Hutten, *De admiranda guaiaci medicina* (1st publ., Mainz, 1519); P. A. Mattioli, *Morbi Gallici novum ... opusculum* (1st publ., Bologna, 1533); L. Fries, *Epitome opusculi de curandis pustulis* (1st publ., Basel, 1532); Scribonius Largus: excerpts from Basel, 1529, *De compositione medicamentorum liber*; J. Almenar, *Libellus de morbo Gallico* (1st publ., Venice, 1502); A. Bolognini, *Liber de cura ulcerum exteriorum* (1st publ., Bologna, 1514). Normally bound with this is Nicolaus Pol's *De cura morbi Gallici* of this year, which is bibliographically distinct. This compendium of works on syphilis, "the French disease", includes Ulrich von Hutten's book promoting

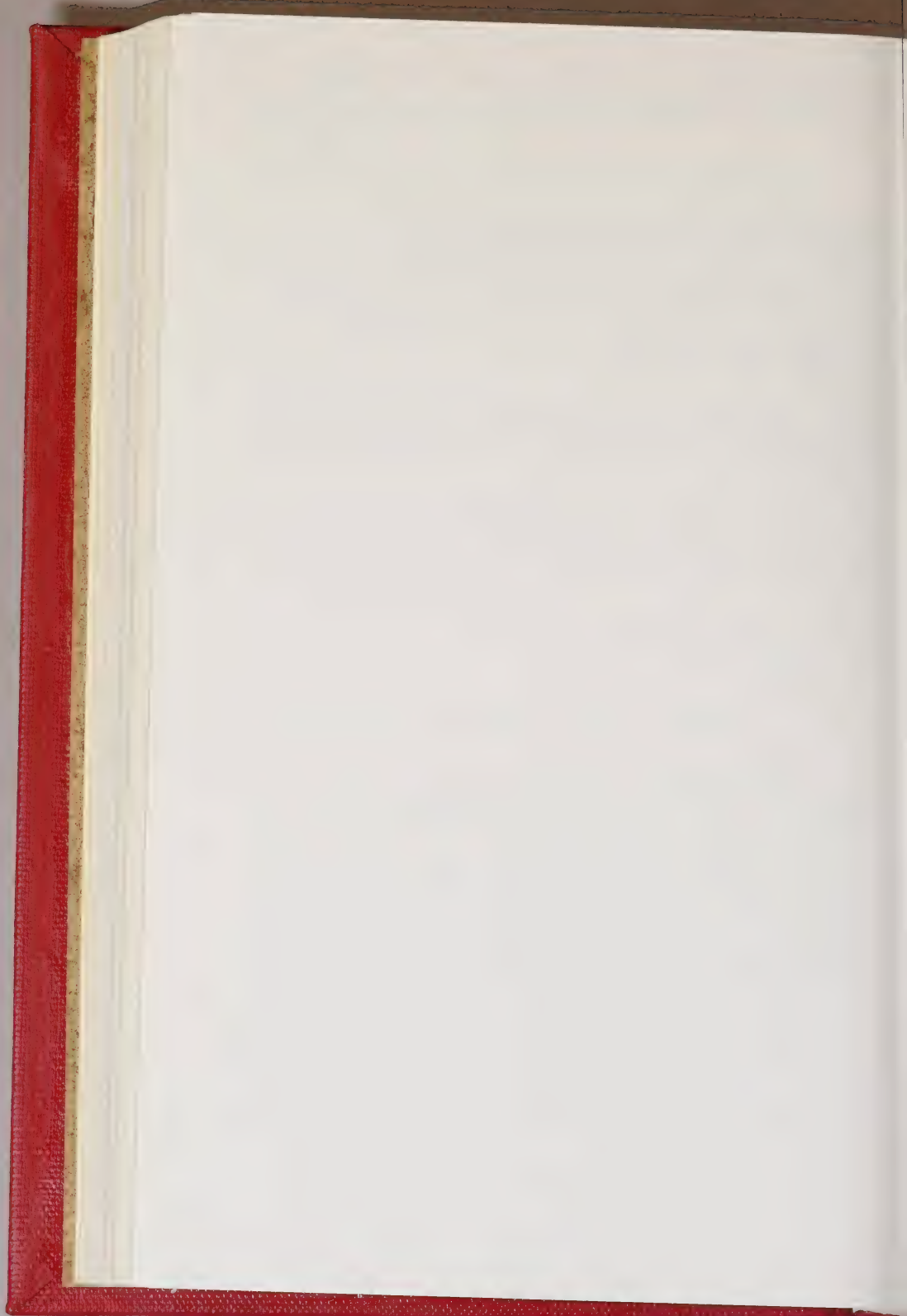
guaiacum on behalf of a family that had been granted a monopoly on its distribution in Europe.

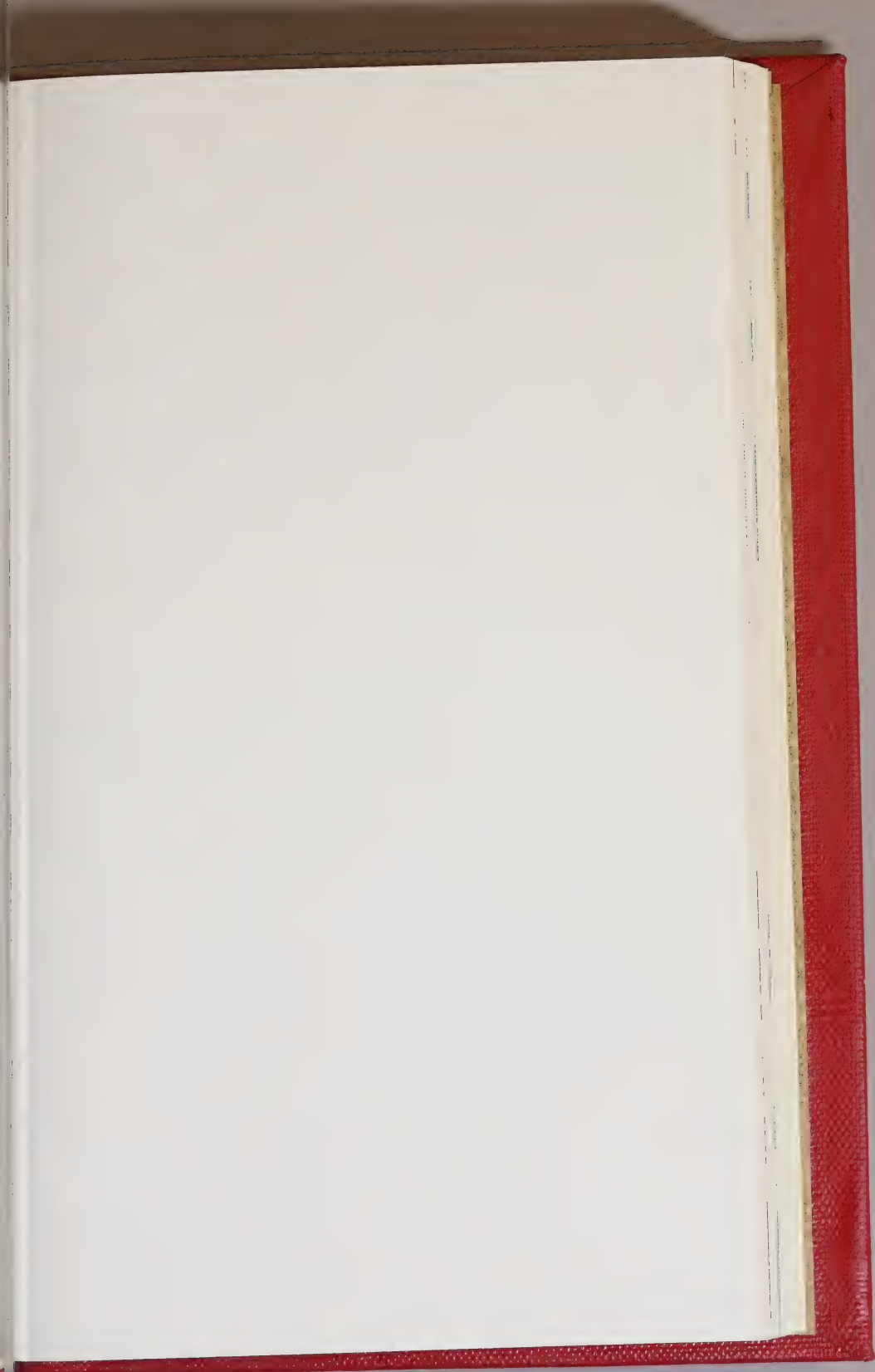
Leaf E5.

41.) Pedro Arias de Benavides, b. 1521

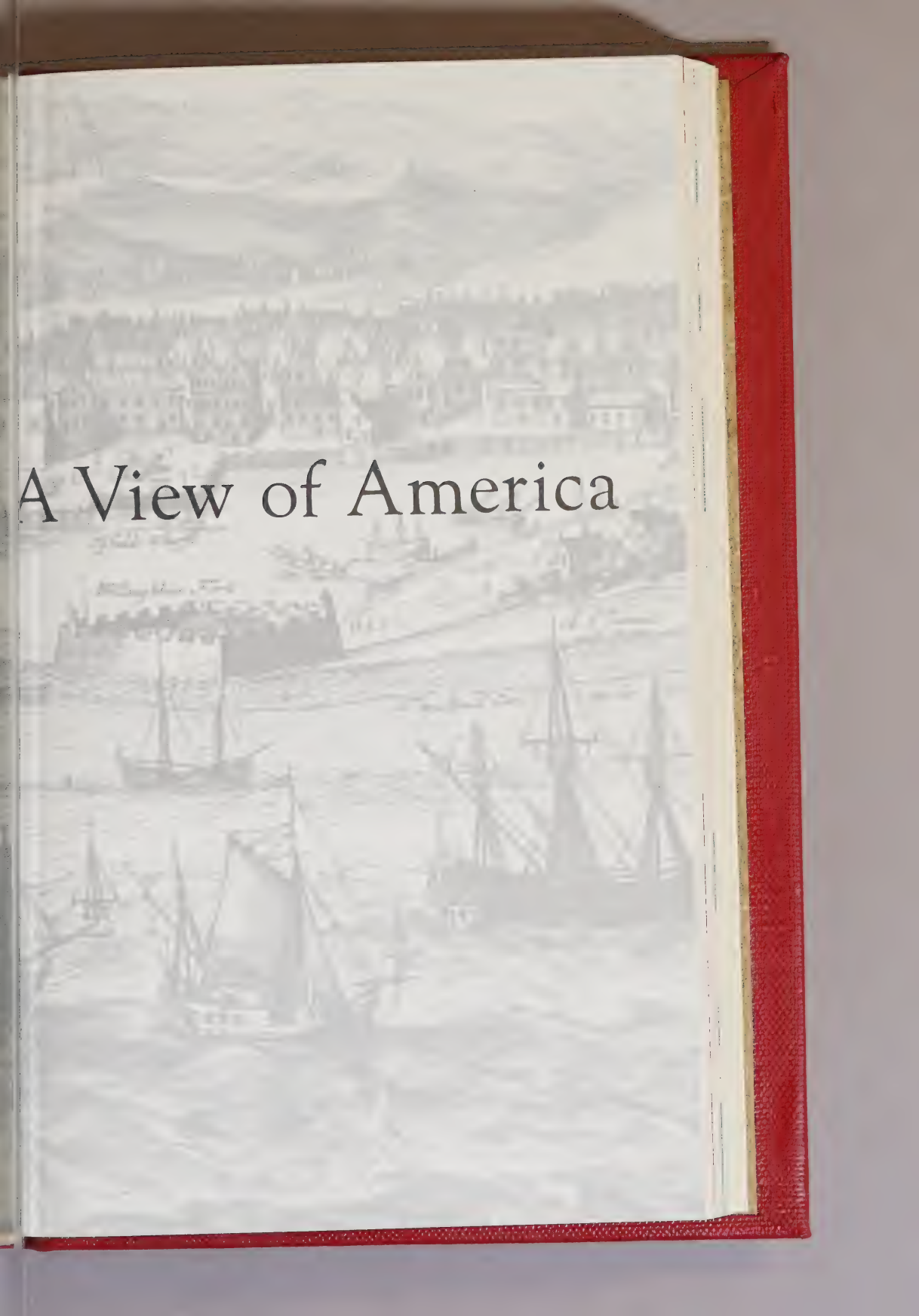
Secretos de chirurgia, especial de las enfermedades de morbo galico y lamparones y mirrarchia, y assi mismo la manera como se curan los Indios de llagas y heridas ... en las Indias. Valladolid, 1567.

Among several chapters on syphilis, folios 103-105 discuss treatment of the disease through sarsaparilla, also native to America.

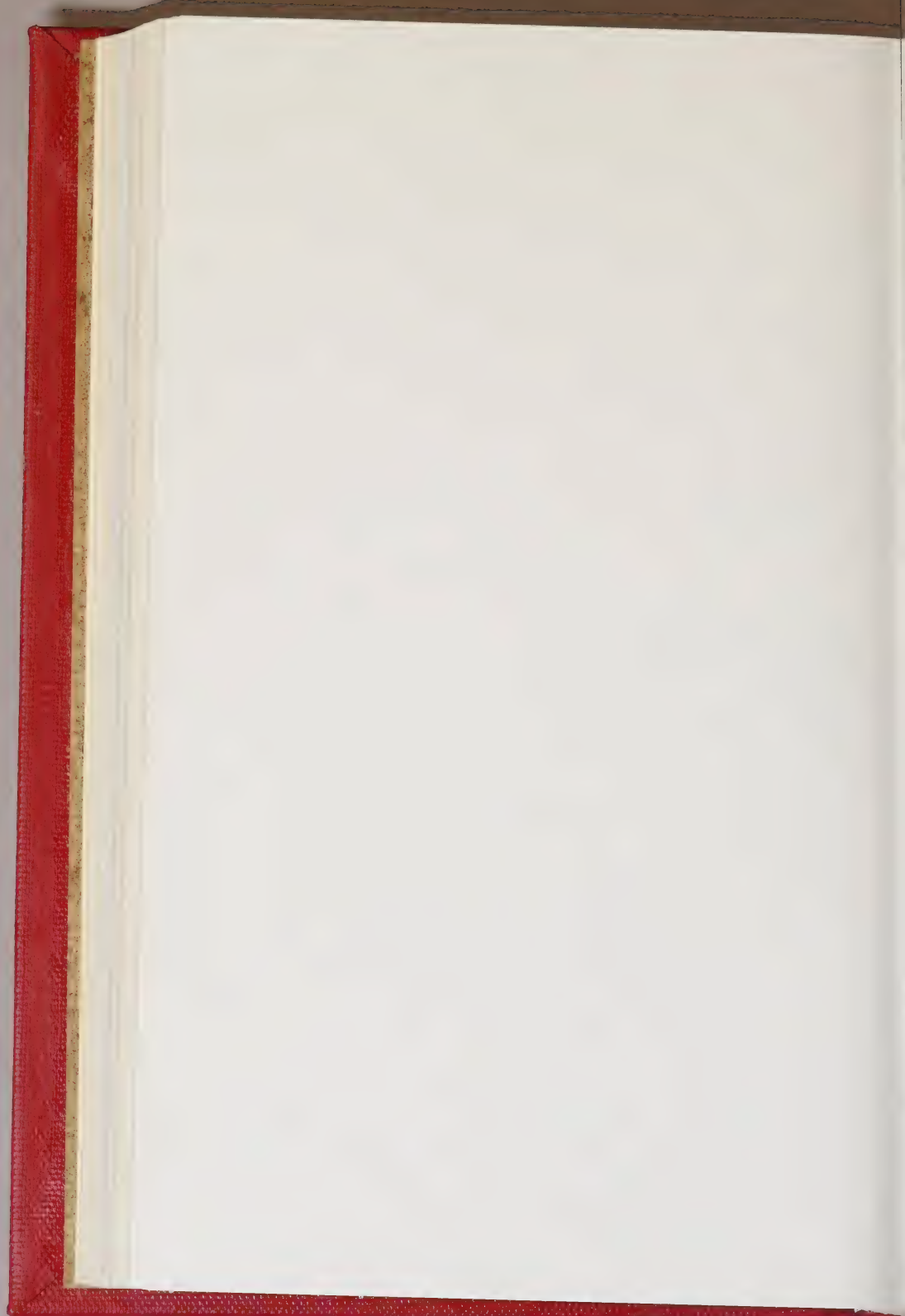






The background of the page features a faint, sepia-toned illustration. It depicts a coastal city with a large fort or castle situated on a hill overlooking the water. Several sailing ships with multiple masts are visible in the harbor. The city is densely packed with buildings, and the overall scene suggests a historical view of a major port city.

A View of America



A View of America
An Exhibition at the
John Carter Brown Library
Providence, Rhode Island
on the occasion of the
41st Annual Meeting of the Associates
May, 1984

Cover: Detail from Samuel Copen. *A Prospect of Bridge Town in Barbados. 1695.* [London, ca. 1695].

A VIEW OF AMERICA

In 1974 the Library published a pamphlet entitled, *A Selection of 101 Books, Maps, and Prints not in the John Carter Brown Library*. We were gratified to discover that book dealers and friends of the Library accepted the challenge of the treasure hunt implied by the pamphlet, which was presented as a serious but necessarily esoteric want list. Over the last decade, three "101" items were added to the collection, and this year we were fortunate to acquire a fourth, Samuel Copen's view of Bridgetown, Barbados. "101" is now reduced to "97."

To celebrate this notable acquisition, the exhibition on the occasion of the Forty-First Annual Meeting focuses upon early views of the Americas. The prints have been arranged geographically, but they represent general categories of purpose as well--there are pictures that illuminate, pictures that announce events of interest, and those that seek to entice settlers by showing spacious, ordered, "European-like" urban centers in the New World. Many of the most important early views of settlements (sometimes no more than outposts) are an integral part of published accounts of explorers' and colonists' descriptions of life in the Americas; the strength of the Library's written primary source materials insures equivalent strength in the pictorial record.

While great treasures are found in books, others fall into a category called "separates." Intended to stand alone, these prints were designed to capture the attention of an audience and often present a subjective view of events that can be of great value to the scholar. John Carter Brown acquired the Library's first separately published view in 1868 (Savannah, Georgia. Case 2, item 19), and our purchase of the Copen prospect of Bridgetown (Panel 4) continues that tradition. Acquisition of separates has always offered a challenge; unprotected by the covers of a book and often large in format, these pictures have suffered from their

A View of America

unmanageability and from man's pride in display. Exposure to light and fireplace smoke has taken its toll.

Another category of prints is the "collection." Examples of three very different types are on display in this exhibition--imaginary *vues d'optiques* from the *Collection des Prospects* illustrative prospects from the *Scenographia Americana* that are almost pastoral in feeling; and William Birch's vivid, visual report on the thriving city of Philadelphia.

Maps also are an important source for the documentation of the early years of American urban centers. The earliest published views of New York City and strategically-placed Halifax, Nova Scotia, are an integral part of the cartographic records on which they appear.

These early, sometimes awkward pictures are charming to the modern eye, and it is an easy matter to smile at the gullibility of an audience that accepted crude, often imaginary representations as real. But the difficulty of assimilating the wonders of the New World, of translating the accounts of early discoverers and settlers into graphic representations, should not be underestimated. Managing the unknown and the exotic must have been no easy task for a European eye, and this process of accommodation demonstrates the difficulty of placing new information within traditional frameworks. No matter what the limitations of these prints, it is true that in many cases a picture is, indeed, worth a thousand words.

Exhibition and Catalogue by Susan Danforth.

A View of America

CASE 1

A City is a City

1. Francis Xavier Habermann. *Vue de Boston*. Augsburg [ca.1776].

2. Francis Xavier Habermann. *Representation du Feu Terrible a Nouvelle York*. Augsburg [ca. 1776].

The prints shown in this first case are examples of *vues d'optiques* from the series, *Collection des Prospects*. The captions are in mirror writing because these pictures were shown projected in reverse in peep shows (or raree shows) to audiences throughout Europe. Figments of the engraver's imagination, these views are often disdained by collectors. Accurate they are not, but their wide circulation transmitted an image of urban America to a vast number of Europeans, and the prints can claim a legitimate place in a collection of Americana. Usually perceived by the modern viewer as naive and uninformed, these images could, perhaps, represent a world-weary, sophisticated point of view--a city contains certain elements and "once you've seen one, you've probably seen them all."

3. Balthazar Frederic Leizel. *Vue de Philadelphie*. Augsburg [ca.1776].

4. Balthazar Frederic Leizel. *Vue de la Nouvelle York*. Augsburg, [ca.1776].

Most of the American city views in the *Collection des Prospects* were probably adapted from stock pictures of

European cities. The origins of only a few of them, however, have actually been identified. The prints shown here were copied from William Woollett's engraved view of the Royal Dock Yard at Deptford, England. Half of that engraving was transformed by Leizel into a view of New York, the other half into a view of Philadelphia.

The North

5. Samuel de Champlain. *Les Voyages*. Paris, 1613.

Crude as it is, this is the foremost item in the iconography of Canadian cities. Drawn by Samuel Champlain, founder of Quebec, the engraving depicts the settlement soon after its establishment in 1608. The first published view of the first permanent settlement in Canada. (See Case 4, item 34 for manuscript drawings by Champlain)

6. Thomas Johnston. *Quebec, The Capital of New France*. [Boston, 1759].

There are very few views that portray Quebec between its founding in 1608 and General Wolfe's siege of 1759. The latter event, however, occasioned many commemorative and "news views." This one, the work of Thomas Johnston of Boston, has been called the earliest and most important American engraved view of the city. Although the advertisement for this print states that it was done "from the latest and most authentic French original," it is actually based on an inset on a map by Nicolas de Fer, published in 1718.

A View of America

7. Giovanni Battista Ramusio. [*Navigazioni et Viaggi. Volume 3*]. Venice, 1606.

Hochelaga, a fortified Indian town about five or six miles from the St. Lawrence River, was observed by the French to be "near a great mountain, tilled round about, very fertile, from the top of which you may see very far; we called it Mont Real." The plan is based upon the description written by Cartier after his first visit in October, 1535.

8. John Norman. *The Town of Falmouth, Burnt, by Captain Moet, Oct. 18, 1775*. [Boston, 1782].

This view, the frontispiece in volume two of Edmund Burke's *An Impartial History of the War in America* (Boston, 1781-1784) shows the destruction of Portland, Maine, by British troops. The townspeople had offered no resistance and Moet's apparently unprovoked burning of the settlement outraged Americans. In the author's words, "The burning of churches and libraries is a new species of warfare ... In the most barbarous ages, churches, colleges, and seminaries of learning were held sacred by all parties, and it was never known, that either in the civil wars or in any foreign ones that Englishmen waged war with learning or religion before." In the English edition of the book the narrative remained the same, but this plate did not appear.

9. Pieter van der Aa. *Naaukeurige Versameling*. Leiden, 1706.

In 1603, seventeen years before the Pilgrim settlement, Martin Pring's two ships landed in Plymouth Harbor. He and his men built a "barricado" and stayed seven weeks loading sassafras. One of the seamen played a "gitterne," which so attracted the Indians that they came in large numbers to dance to the music.

A View of America

10. [Paul Revere] *A View of the Town of Boston with Several Ships of War in the Harbour*. [Boston, 1774].

This is the last of three views of Boston drawn and engraved by Paul Revere. It is based on the first, a woodcut that appeared in the Edes and Gill Almanac for 1770, and the second, an engraving issued in 1770. This one made a political statement, obvious from its title, and was executed for the first issue of the *Royal American Magazine*.

11. Bernard Romans. *An Exact View of the Late Battle at Charlestown, June 17th 1775*. [Philadelphia, 1775].

Bernard Romans--civil engineer, naturalist, cartographer, and historian--was responsible for an important group of maps of the Revolutionary period. In 1774 and 1775 he was in Boston and engraved this eyewitness report of the Battle of Bunker Hill showing the towns of Boston and Charlestown. The outcome of the battle was of interest to a European audience, and this view was re-engraved in England for British circulation in the following year. Our copy is unusual in that there is an uncolored impression of the plate on the reverse side.

CASE 2

Mid-Atlantic

12. Arnoldus Montanus. *De Nieuwe en Onbekende Weereld*. Amsterdam, 1671.

A Susquehanna Indian village in what is now Pennsylvania.

A View of America

13. *Beschrijvinghe Van Virginia, Nieuw Nederlandt*
... Amsterdam, 1651.

Called the "Hartgers view" after the printer of the book, this engraving was for many years regarded as the earliest representation of New Amsterdam (New York). Scholars have determined, however, that this print is essentially an imaginary representation, probably based upon certain plans for the city that were not completely carried out.

14. *The American Magazine*. Vol. 1, no.1. Philadelphia, 1741.

This crude woodcut is generally regarded as the first attempt at a view of Philadelphia. It appears at the head of the title page of the initial issue of Andrew Bradford's *American Magazine*, the first periodical published in the British colonies.

15. John Carwitham. *A View of Fort George with the city of New York from the S.W.* [London, after 1764].

The views of American towns engraved by Carwitham were included in the collection of scenes called *Scenographia Americana* (see Panel 1). Although this view was published after 1764, the scene itself dates from about 1731, as can be determined by the locations and appearances of the prominent churches.

16. John Carwitham. *An East Perspective View of the City of Philadelphia, in the Province of Pennsylvania*. London [ca. 1764].

This view shows Philadelphia as it was in about 1735.

Carolina and Georgia

17. *The Ichnography of Charles-Town at High Water.* [London] 1739.

Although a plan of Charleston, South Carolina, was printed twenty-eight years before as an inset on a map by Edward Crisp, this plan of the city was the first to be issued separately.

18. Sir Robert Montgomery. *A Discourse Concerning the Design'd Establishment of a New Colony...* London, 1717.

One of the reasons for the settlement of Georgia in 1733 was to provide military outposts along the sensitive frontier with Florida. Sixteen years earlier a similar scheme had been proposed and set forth in this pamphlet by Montgomery. The fortified town shown here was intended to be a part of a buffer zone called the Margravate of Azilia, a feudal scheme that was never realized.

19. Peter Gordon. *A View of Savannah as it stood the 28th of March, 1734.* [London, 1734].

This view of Savannah, the first of its kind, shows the town a year after General Oglethorpe, founder of Georgia, landed in 1733 (his headquarters are shown in the tent near the waterfront). On July 7, 1733, Oglethorpe called the recently arrived settlers to a meeting where he revealed the plans for this, the capital of the new colony. The town grew rapidly; in 1745 the *London Magazine* reported "very near 350 houses ... besides the public buildings ... Many of the Houses are large and handsome."

A View of America

20. Samuel Urlsperger. *Der ausführlichen Nachrichten ... (Part XIII)*. Halle, 1747.

Close on the heels of Oglethorpe came a group of German Protestants from Salzburg. In 1736 they established the town of Ebenezer some twenty-five miles above Savannah. After two years, the town was moved six miles to the banks of the Savannah River in order to secure better lands, a more healthful location, and reliable water transportation. New Ebenezer was the center of German culture in Georgia and by 1740 claimed a population of "77 men, 70 women, 60 girls, 42 boys, and 7 maidservants."

CASE 3

Florida

21. Theodor De Bry. *Great Voyages-Latin I, Part II*. Frankfurt, 1591.

This engraving of a fortified town of the Florida Indians is taken from a drawing made on the spot by Jacques Le Moyne. "The chief's dwelling stands in the middle of the town, and is partly underground, in consequence of the sun's heat. Around this are the houses of the principal men, all lightly roofed with palm branches."

22. Charles de Rochefort. *Histoire Naturelle et Morale des Iles Antilles de l'Amerique*. Rotterdam, 1681.

This is the apocryphal city of Melilot, capital of the Indian kingdom of Apalache. Although usually assigned a location in present-day Florida, it was sometimes placed in

Georgia. According to Rochefort, the kingdom was home to a mysterious band of European Protestants who had been driven from their Virginia colony. This is probably the first printed illustration of a North American utopian city.

23. *Coppie d'une Lettre venant de la Floride*. Paris, 1565.

Although Spain claimed Florida from the time of its discovery, early attempts to colonize had been unsuccessful. It was left to René de Laudonnière, leader of a group of French Huguenots, to begin the process which was to result in the first permanent settlement in what is now the United States. In 1564 he constructed Fort Caroline just a few miles east of present-day Jacksonville. The plan of the fort in this anonymous account of the colony is probably the first published picture of a European building in this country. Fort Caroline flourished for four years, but in 1568 the Spanish, operating from the newly founded St. Augustine, destroyed the French settlement. This is the only known copy of the book.

24. Walter Bigges. *A Summarie and True Discourse of Sir Frances Drakes West Indian Voyage*. London, 1589.

This view of the attack on St. Augustine by Drake during his West Indian foray of 1585-1586 is the earliest known view of the oldest continuing European settlement in the United States.

25. John Ogilby. *America: Being the Latest, and Most Accurate Description of the New World*. London, 1671.

St. Augustine, as it appeared about eighty years after Drake's attack.

Hispaniola

26. Christopher Columbus. *De Insulis inventis*. [Basle, 1493].

After the wreck of the *Santa Maria* off the north coast of Hispaniola on Christmas Day, 1492, Columbus ordered that a "tower and fortress" be built, which he named La Navidad. This was the first European settlement in the New World, which some scholars believe was probably located on a sandy beach about eight miles east of Cap-Haitien, Haiti. The view shown here, from the illustrated "Columbus Letter," is the earliest representation of that settlement.

27. Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés. *La historia general de las Indias*. Seville, 1535.

These drawings of Indian huts are among the first pictures of buildings on the island of Hispaniola. Oviedo visited America and this general account of the Indies was based upon his personal observations. He also executed other drawings for the book, among which are some of the earliest pictures of the flora and fauna in the New World.

28. [Walter Bigges] *Expeditio Francisci Draki*. London, 1589.

The raid by Sir Francis Drake on the Spanish West Indies in 1585 and 1586 resulted in some of the most widely circulated general views of American cities. This map of Santo Domingo, or Ciudad Trujillo, as it is known today, is one of the earliest plans of the first permanent European city in the New World.

29. Pierre François Xavier de Charlevoix. *Histoire de l'Isle Espagnole ou de S. Domingue*. Paris, 1731.

Cap-Haitien is the modern city that stands nearest the site of Columbus's La Navidad. Founded by the French in 1670 as Cap-François, it became known as the "Paris of the Antilles." This plan and view of the city was published by the Jesuit missionary Charlevoix in his *Histoire* of 1731.

CASE 4

Mexico

30. *Neue zeittung von dem lande das die Sponier funden haben ym 1521 iare genant Yucatan*. [Augsburg, 1522].

Illustrating a German news plaquette that contains the first printed account of Cortés's invasion of Mexico, this woodcut is probably the first representation of Mexico City to appear in print. The artist has taken particular pains to show the lake and five bridges of the "Great Venice," as the Aztec capital was often called.

31. Diego Valades. *Rhetorica Christiana*. Perugia, 1579.

The Aztec temple is shown here as the center of activity for Mexican Indian civilization. Dancing, burial customs, cooking, astronomical observations, fishing, worship, and human sacrifice are all represented in this composite view.

32. Juan de Tovar. *Historia de la benida de los Yndios apoblar a Mexico de las partes remotas de Occidente*. Manuscript executed ca. 1583-1587.

One of the prophecies long-remembered by the Aztecs was that their wanderings would cease and a permanent home be established at the place where they should find an eagle perched upon a cactus, devouring either a snake or a smaller bird. About the year 1325 this prophecy was fulfilled on an island in Lake Tezcoco. This is an emblematic representation of the event, which later inspired the design of the seal of the City of Mexico.

33. Hernán Cortés. *Praeclara Ferdinandi Cortesii de Nova maris Oceani Hyspania Narratio ...* [Nuremberg, 1524].

Mexico City, Tenochtitlan as it was called by the Aztecs, was completely destroyed by the Spanish in 1521. This plan of the city as Cortés saw it is the earliest map of an American city. It appears in the Latin edition of Cortés's report to Charles V.

34. Samuel de Champlain. *Brief Discours des choses plus Remarquables que Sammuel Champlain de Brouage à Reconeues aux Indes occidentalles*. Manuscript executed about 1602 or 1603.

Mexico City as it appeared about 1600 is shown in this original watercolor drawing by Samuel Champlain, better known for his later exploits in Canada. Champlain first visited the New World in a voyage (1599-1601) which took him to the West Indies and Mexico about eighty years after the Spanish conquest. Champlain was a competent artist, and this manuscript journal is filled with his illustrations.

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35. Arnoldus Montanus. *America: Being the Latest and Most Accurate Description of the New World*. London, 1671.

When this view was engraved in about 1670, Mexico City was already more than 350 years old. Shown here is the result of 130 years of Spanish building on the ruins of the earlier Aztec civilization.

Peru

36. Francisco de Xeres. *[Verdadera relacion de la conquista del Peru.]* Seville, 1534.

In contemporary reports of the conquest of Peru, the event that most impressed Europeans was the Christian instruction given the Inca King Atahualpa by Fray Vicente de Valverde. The event is depicted on the title page of this account of the conquest written by Pizarro's secretary, Francisco Xeres. The fortress on the rise of ground is part of the defenses of the town of Calamarca in northern Peru, where the Spaniards captured (and ultimately executed) the king. Described by Xeres, this is probably the earliest picture of a building in South America.

37. Giovanni Battista Ramusio. *[Navigazioni et Viaggi. Volume 3]*. Venice, 1556.

A view of Cusco, the remarkable capital of the Inca civilization, was printed for the first time with a report by Pero Sancho, an official of the new Spanish possessions. Although it was written in 1534, it remained unpublished until its appearance in Venice in Ramusio's account of 1556. Based on verbal descriptions of the city rather than actual

observation, it served as the prototype for illustrations of Cusco for many years to come.

38. Agustín de Zárate. *Historia del Descubrimiento y Conquista del Peru*. Anvers, 1555.

Throughout the sixteenth century the "treasures of the Indies" played an important role in the Spanish economy. The most important single source of that treasure was the silver mine at Potosi in Bolivia, discovered in 1545. This is the earliest picture of the most famous mine of the New World.

39. Joris van Spilbergen. *Oost ende West-Indische Spiegel der Nieuwe Navigatien*. Leyden, 1619.

In 1535 Pizarro founded the city of Lima and gave it the impressive name Ciudad de los Reyes. This view of Callao, the port of Lima, may also contain the first printed view of Lima itself. The buildings edging over the hills could represent nothing else. The engraving appears in the Dutch account of Joris van Spilbergen's voyage around the world in 1619 in the section describing his raids on the west coast of South America.

40. Jorge Juan and Antonio de Ulloa. *Relación Historica del Viaje a la America Meridional*. Madrid, 1748.

Pizarro laid out Lima with a great deal of care. It became the leading city of South America, and its position as the principal port of the west coast made it one of the wealthiest and handsomest of the Spanish colonial cities. Unfortunately, it was built near one of the world's major earthquake faults. Damaged a number of times, it was almost entirely destroyed on October 28, 1746. This map

A View of America

shows the city at the height of its glory just before that event.

CASES 5 and 6

The West

41. Victor Collot. *A Journey in North America*. Paris, 1826.

This has been called "the second known view" of Pittsburgh, and it may be the earliest one engraved. It was drawn in 1796 by a member of the party of General Victor Collot, a French officer who was instructed by his government to survey the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers. His account and the accompanying atlas of maps and plates were not offered for sale until 1826. The printing had been completed before the General's death in 1805, but the unbound sheets were suppressed for political reasons.

42. Luis Antonio Menchaca. *Mapa del Presidio de San Antonio de Bexar*. Manuscript, 1764.

The first permanent European settlement in Texas, modern San Antonio originally consisted of the standard three elements that made up a Spanish frontier town: *presidios* for the military establishment, *pueblos* for the civil population, and *misiones* for the Indians. On this map, drawn forty-six years after its founding in 1718, are shown the string of missions which grew up along the river. The first and best known, the Mission of San Antonio de Valero, or "The Alamo," can be seen directly across the river from the *presidio*.

A View of America

43. Thomas Pownall. *A Design to represent the beginning and completion of an American Settlement or Farm*. London, 1761.

The progress from primitive surroundings on the left to the mansion and gardens and plowed fields on the right bank of the river provides a graphic portrayal of the American dream.

44. Thomas Pownall. *A View of Bethlehem, the Great Moravian Settlement in the Province of Pennsylvania*. London, 1761.

A view of Bethlehem by Governor Thomas Pownall shows the rich Pennsylvania countryside settled some years earlier by the Moravian followers of Count Zinzendorf.

Panel 1 - Scenographia Americana

In 1768 John Bowles published a collection of views of American scenes. Although some of them had been issued earlier as separates or as parts of smaller sets, this group of twenty-eight prints is known collectively as *Scenographia Americana*, or a *Collection of Views in North America and the West Indies*. Engraved in the somewhat romantic English landscape manner and often out of date when issued, these views were based upon drawings that were done on the spot, usually by military artists. One of the contributors was Thomas Pownall, governor of the colony of Massachusetts from 1757 to 1760. An enlightened and sympathetic administrator, Pownall's other talents included a taste for scientific observation (ocean currents and the Gulf Stream) and artistic ability (See Case 6, items 43 and 44).

A View of America

45. Captain Ince. *A View of Louisbourg in North America, taken near the Lighthouse when that City was besieged in 1758.* [London] 1762.

Called the "Gibraltar of America," Louisbourg on Cape Breton Island was the scene of a number of bitter military actions between France and England during the eighteenth century. This view shows the final siege by the British in 1758.

46. Thomas Paton. *An East View of Montreal in Canada.* [London], 1762.

Montreal as it appeared when it passed from the possession of France into the hands of Great Britain.

47. Thomas Pownall. *A View of the City of Boston the Capital of New England, in North America.* London [ca.1768].

A view of the town of Boston drawn about 1760 from the vantage point of Castle William, later known as Fort Independence.

48. Captain Thomas Howdell. *A South West View of the City of New York in North America.* [London, ca. 1768].

This picture of New York City was drawn in about 1764 by Captain Howdell at a point near the East River in the approximate location of the La Guardia housing project. The particular view of lower Manhattan chosen by the artist is now effectively obstructed by the East Side Highway and the approaches to the Manhattan Bridge.

49. Thomas Mellish. *A View of Charles Town the*

A View of America

Capital of South Carolina in North America. [London, ca. 1765].

A View of Charleston as it was about 1760.

50. Elias Durnford. *A View of the Market Place in the City of Havana.* London [ca.1768].

Havana as it appeared in about 1760.

Panel 2 - Birch Views of Philadelphia

William Birch. *The City of Philadelphia North America* as it appeared in 1800. [Bridgewater, Pennsylvania, 1800].

The Birch views of Philadelphia constitute one of the most complete pictorial records of an eighteenth-century city in existence. The twenty-eight engravings in this series document the beginning of a new nation and the coming of age of its most successful urban center. This is the first collection of American city views ever published. Celebratory in intent, Philadelphia is shown as a modern, thriving, commercial center.

51. *The City & Port of Philadelphia, on the River Delaware from Kensington.*

52. *Preparation for War to defend Commerce. The Swedish Church Southwark with the building of the Frigate Philadelphia.*

53. *State-House Garden, Philadelphia*
54. *South East Corner of Third, and Market Streets, Philadelphia.*
55. *Second Street North from Market St. wth. Christ Church. Philadelphia.*
56. *Bank of the United States, in Third Street Philadelphia.*
57. *The Water Works, in Centre Square Philadelphia.*
58. *An Unfinished House, in Chesnut Street Philadelphia.*
59. *Pennsylvania Hospital, in Pine Street Philadelphia.*

Panel 3 - City Views on Maps

Many significant views of American cities appear on maps. Decorative enhancement of the cartographic record, they also serve to "inhabit" the wilderness while placing often sparsely settled territories within a social context. Growing civic pride is expressed in the architectural renderings of important buildings such as Scull and Heap's elevation of the Philadelphia State House (Independence Hall). By the nineteenth century, this kind of detail had become a necessary requirement for "proper" cartographic presentation.

60. Nicolas Visscher. *Novi Belgii Novaeque Angliae nec non Partis Virginiae Tabula*. [Amsterdam, ca.1651].

The inset at the bottom of this map is now generally regarded as the earliest known view of New York City. Called the "Visscher view" after the publisher of the map, it depicts the city as it must have appeared about 1650. It is possible to date the delineation because of the absence of Fort Kasimir on the Delaware, which was not built until 1651. It has been suggested that the view may be the work of Augustine Herrman, who lived in both New York and Maryland during the seventeenth century.

61. Joachim Ottens. *Totius Neobelgii Nova et Accuratissima Tabula*. [Amsterdam, ca.1740].

This view of New Amsterdam was probably drawn about 1673, just after the recapture of the city by the Dutch from the English in August of that year. It is called the "Restitutio" view after the name given to the map. The twenty-year development of the city can be traced by comparing this with the Visscher view of 1651.

62. James Turner. *Chart of the Coasts of Nova Scotia and Parts Adjacent ...* Boston [ca.1750].

The French fortress of Louisbourg on Cape Breton Island was captured by the British in 1745 but was returned in 1748 under the terms of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. To offset this threat to security, the English established the town of Halifax, Nova Scotia, in 1749. About 1750 James Turner, an English engraver newly arrived in the colonies, satisfied Bostonians' need for news of events to the North by publishing this map. The cartouche shows the building of Halifax.

63. Moses Harris. *A Map of the South Part of Nova Scotia.* [London] 1750.

The general map shows the strategic location of Halifax with its superb natural harbor. The "View from ye Topmasthead" pictures the newly built town with trees still growing close to the palisades, a dangerous condition that was soon remedied. This view was probably drawn by eighteen-year-old Moses Harris, a naturalist and artist who later published several books on entomology illustrated with his own drawings.

64. Nicholas Scull and George Heap. *A Map Of Philadelphia And Parts Adjacent. With a Perspective View of the State-House.* [Philadelphia, 1752].

This, the most popular early map of William Penn's "Greene Country Towne," has two claims to distinction. Published in 1752, it is the first printed map to show how Philadelphia developed from the original plan. It also contains the first view of the State House, or Independence Hall. The building had not yet been completed, which accounts for the precarious manner in which Heap drew the as yet unfinished belfry.

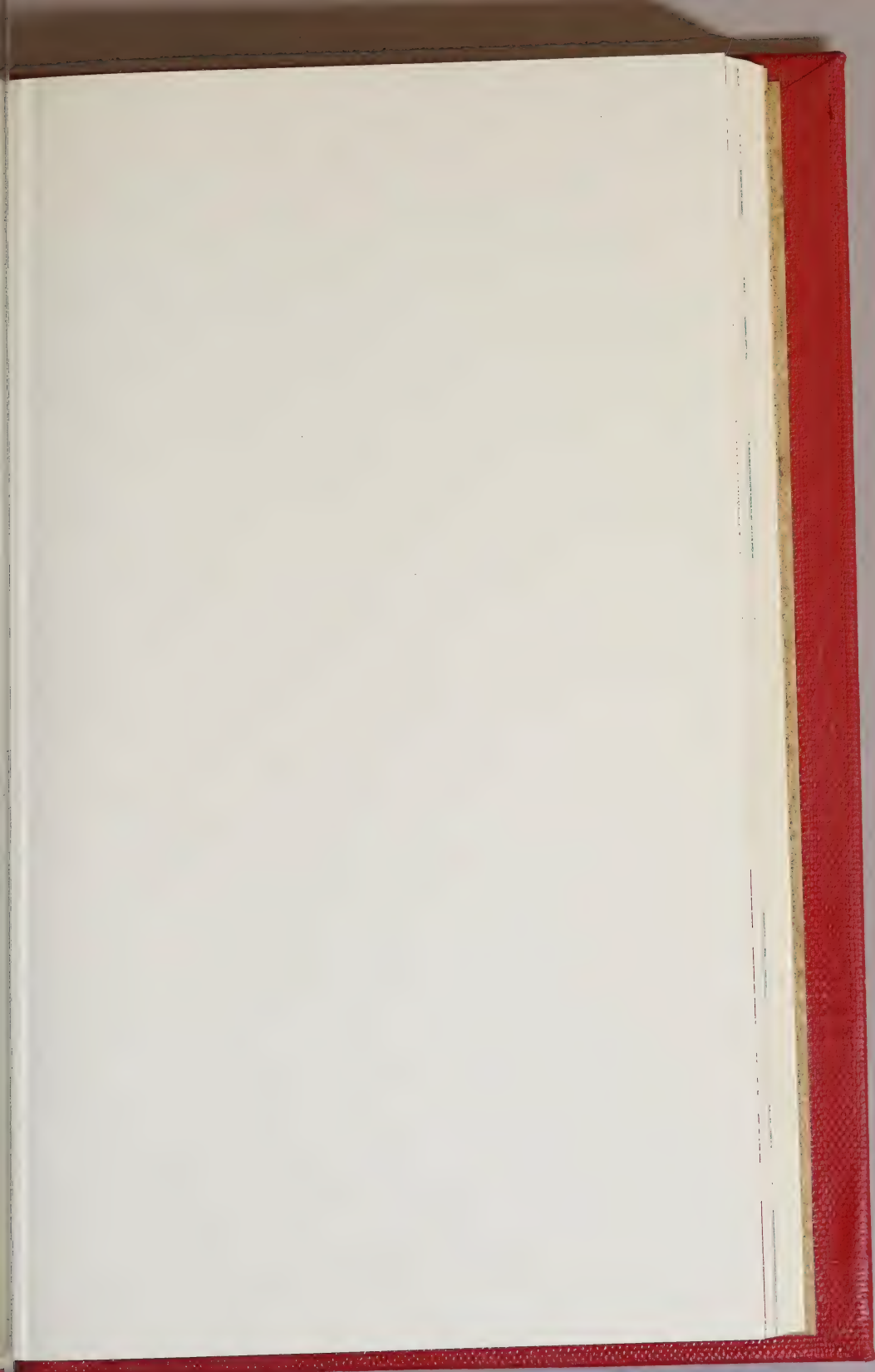
A View of America

Panel 4 - Bridgetown, Barbados

35. Samuel Copen. *A Prospect of Bridge Town in Barbados. 1695.* [London, ca.1695].

This is the first large panoramic view of an English colony in America. Among the most perishable printed Americana are the large panoramic views of colonial towns; their very size made survival difficult. This one of Bridgetown was executed by a Dutch artist showing the settlement after it had been well established and had become a flourishing colonial center. Only two other copies of this print have been recorded.











Waves in the Lake:
Challenges to Spanish Authority in the Caribbean

An Exhibition Mounted for the
Forty-second Annual Meeting of the
Associates of the John Carter Brown Library

May 3, 1985

Exhibition and Catalogue by Susan L. Danforth



CASE 1

Establishing a Claim to the Indies

The papal bull *Aeterni Regis* of 1481 was issued in response to Portuguese voyages along the west coast of Africa and confirmed Lusitanian sovereignty over all lands found to the south of the Canary Islands. Dom João, king of Portugal, was prepared to dispute Spanish claims to anything discovered south of the latitude of the Canaries, no matter how far west of Africa. With regard to the New World, this meant that although Spanish title to Cuba, Hispaniola, and the Bahamas was clearly recognized by Portugal, the status of future Spanish discoveries to the south was a gray area and a potential source of contention between the two powers.

In his journals, Columbus referred to a "natural" ocean boundary--a dramatic change of climate and flora 100 leagues west of the Azores. This information, plus Pope Alexander VI's predisposition towards the interests of the country of his birth (he was called the "Spanish Pope"), were probably the basis for the bull *Inter Caetera II* of 1493 that established Spain's sovereignty over all lands west of a vertical line drawn 100 leagues west of the Azores.

1. Christopher Columbus. *Epistola Christofori Colom*: ... [Rome, May 1493].

When Columbus returned to Spain in February, 1493, he composed an account that served as the public declaration of his discovery. It was not addressed to any particular individual but was enclosed with a letter, now lost, to the Spanish sovereigns. Transcripts of Columbus's account were circulated at court and a Latin translation was made with the title *Epistola*, or "letter," by which it has been known ever since. The Library

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possesses six of the nine Latin editions that spread the news of the discovery across Europe and announced the beginnings of Spain's New World empire.

Portugal, however, did not see the papal allocation as a satisfactory solution and approached Spain with a request for alteration. The Spanish sovereigns were in no position to be too stubborn, realizing that Portuguese naval strength could render communication with the Indies insecure if the two countries came to blows. In the treaty concluded at Tordesillas, Spain, on June 7, 1494, Ferdinand and Isabella consented that the line of demarcation be moved to the meridian 370 leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands. To those who accepted the Pope's authority in such temporal matters, Portugal's claim to Brazil was clear, as was the assertion of the Caribbean as a Spanish Lake.

2. *Copia dela bula dela concession ...* [Logrono, ca. 1511].

Although Alexander VI's bull *Inter Caetera II* of 1493 had been superseded by the time this copy was printed in 1511, its appearance at this date suggests that the Treaty of Tordesillas may not have been universally recognized. Copies of the bull were distributed to Spanish sea captains, apparently to be used to prove the legitimacy of Spain's claims should the need arise.

3. Juan López de Velasco. *Demarcacion y division de las Yndias*. Manuscript, [ca. 1575].

Spanish claims are clearly displayed, delineated by the lines of demarcation in the East and West Indies.

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4. Battista Agnese. *Manuscript portolan atlas of the world*. [Venice, ca. 1543-1545]

Battista Agnese, a Genoese mapmaker working in sixteenth-century Venice, was a prolific producer of decorated manuscript atlases. This copy, the most decorative of them all, was made at the order of Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor, as a birthday gift for his son, Philip, who became King Philip II of Spain in 1556.

Agnese's world maps always showed the routes of Magellan (in black ink) and the Spanish silver fleet from America (in gold).

5. Arnoldus Montanus. *De Nieuwe en Onbekende Weereld ...* Amsterdam, 1671.

Havana, the rendezvous for the Spanish plate fleet.

After learning the hard way that heavily laden ships traveling alone were easy targets for pirates, Spain imposed order on her traffic with the Indies by sending two closely guarded convoys each year. Outward bound they carried consignments of Old World products for Spanish settlers; on their return they carried treasure from South America and Mexico.

Typically, the first fleet left Seville in the spring and stopped at the Mexican ports of Veracruz or San Juan de Ulloa. In February it proceeded on to Havana. The second fleet left Seville in August and sent ships to Cartagena (Columbia) and Nombre de Dios (Panama), sailing on to Havana in January. The combined fleet then

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left Havana in late spring or early summer for the return trip to Spain.

Challenges to Spanish Authority

The division of New World territory may have been acceptable to Spain and Portugal, but the pronouncements of the Pope were not quite as good as gold to entrepreneurs from excluded nations. The complexities of European politics made major powers reluctant to clash over issues of New World trade and dominion, but unofficial challenges to Spanish authority were many and varied in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Corsairs picked at treasure fleets as they neared the coasts of Spain, while buccaneers--often the human debris of earlier expeditions--regularly harrassed Spanish shipping from bases in the Caribbean itself. Spain began to realize that her authority was only as good as her power to enforce it, and in 1549 Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, a tough-minded merchant and shipbuilder from Asturias, was charged with making the "lake" safe for the Spanish fleet. Because of the drain of Spain's European commitments, however, there was never enough manpower to patrol New World territory adequately. Instead, Menéndez put his efforts into fortifying key ports and using armed squadrons to escort heavily laden galleons to Spain.

CASE 2

French Threats

In the spring of 1523 Spanish caravels carrying the first shipment of plunder from the conquest of the Aztec empire were themselves plundered off the coast of the

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Azores by French corsairs under the leadership of Jean Florin. When Spain protested, Francis I is said to have responded, "The sun shines for me as it does for the Spaniard."

6. Theodor DeBry. [*Great Voyages-Latin, Part 5*] Frankfurt, 1595.

Although pirates, buccaneers, and corsairs were nominally of one nationality or another, their depredations were, for the most part, individual acts based upon opportunity. A Spanish sailor with a grudge against his former masters signed on with the French corsair Robert Baal and provided him with firsthand information about weaknesses in Cartagena's defenses. The attack is shown above--the town was sacked and burned, and the invaders cleared 150,000 ducats in the raid.

The sharpest threat to Spain in the sixteenth century came when religious wars forced French Protestants to seek haven in North American settlements. This effort to gain a foothold took place between 1562 and 1568 under the leadership of René de Laudonnière and Jean Ribaut. Catholic imperial Spain could not allow French heretics to install themselves dangerously close to the northern mouth of the Caribbean through which the plate fleet had to pass on the difficult first leg of the cross-Atlantic voyage.

7. *Copie d'une lettre venant de la Floride envoyée à Rouen.* Paris, 1565.

This is the only known copy of an account of the French attempt to establish a Huguenot colony in Florida. The view of Fort Caroline shown here is believed to be the earliest printed representation of a European settlement in what is now the United States.

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Pedro Menéndez de Avilès was dispatched in 1565 with instructions to crush the French and establish a Spanish garrison on the east coast of Florida (St. Augustine). This he accomplished quickly and effectively. The Huguenot settlement (near present-day Jacksonville, Florida) was destroyed and the colonists were massacred. Many of them were hanged and it is related that Menéndez placed above them the inscription, "I do this not to Frenchmen, but to heretics."

8. Bartolomé de Flores. *Obra nuevamente compuesta*, ... Seville [1571]

The actions of Menéndez are praised in verse in this sole Spanish account of events concerning the destruction of the French colony in Florida. Florida is described in deceptively glowing terms in an unsuccessful attempt to attract settlers to St. Augustine. The John Carter Brown copy is apparently unique.

9. Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora. *Trofeo de la Justicia Espanola en el castigo de la alevosia francesa* ... Mexico, 1691.

There were few printed Spanish accounts of French encroachments. This one, by the distinguished man of letters Carlos Sigüenza y Góngora, describes one of Spain's regular attempts to unseat the French in St. Domingue (Haiti). During the raid the French governor, Tarin de Cussy, was killed.

10. *Plan of Cartagena with the Road and adjacent Forts. Besieged and Taken by the French under the Command of Monsieur De Pointis. 1697.* Manuscript map [ca. 1740.]

For almost a decade, privateer Jean-Baptiste Du Casse raided Spanish shipping in the West Indies and enriched the coffers of Louis XIV. After the death of Tarin de Cussy he was appointed governor of St. Domingue because of his extensive knowledge of the area. Du Casse was respected by the buccaneers, and when Baron de Pointis arrived in St. Domingue with plans to attack the Spanish stronghold of Cartagena, the governor was able to induce the "bretheren of the coast" to aid in the venture. With these combined forces the town fell and Pointis sailed off with a fortune. The buccaneers, however, felt that they had not received their fair share of the spoils, so they returned and sacked the town again.

In 1708, Spain and France were allied and Du Casse was detached for service with the Spanish fleet. His assignment was to protect Spanish treasure ships from pirates on the voyage from Veracruz to Seville. The first year he lost only two vessels; the next year he brought the entire convoy through without a loss.

English Sea Rovers

Prior to the accession of Elizabeth I in 1558, an alliance existed between England and Spain, cemented by the marriage of Philip II and Queen Mary of England. Even during this period, however, the lure of lucrative commerce with the Indies raised questions in English minds about Spanish rights to the Caribbean.

11. Richard Eden, trans. *A treatyse of the newe India*. London, 1553.

Eden described the abundance of the Caribbean and challenged the Spanish claim "to be Lordes of halfe the world." The English had every right, he maintained, "to make [settlement] attempts in the New World to the glory of God and the commodity of our country." He chastised his countrymen for not seeing the advantages earlier. If they had done so, "that Rich Treasury in Seville might long since have been in the Tower of London."

England was interested in trade and did, in fact, trade on an "informal" basis with Spanish colonists in South America and the Caribbean. As early as 1530, William Hawkins brought dyewood back from Brazil, and his son, John, made three trading voyages to the Spanish Main between 1562 and 1569. The younger Hawkins found, however, that it was becoming increasingly difficult to deal with the Spaniards.

12. Richard Hakluyt. *The Principall Navigations, Voiages and Discoveries of the English Nation* ... London, 1589.

Hawkins's third trading voyage to the West Indies ended with the destruction of most of his ships (one of them belonging to Queen Elizabeth) by the Spanish fleet at San Juan de Ulloa on the coast of Mexico. His account of the incident is written as a careful, soberly framed indictment of Spanish treachery. Hawkins's story first appeared in 1569. That book is very rare and the Library does not yet own a copy. It is described as number 17 in *Rare Americana: A selection of one hundred and one books, maps, and prints not in the John Carter Brown Library*.

13. *A Briefe Description of the Portes, Creekes, Bayes, and Havens, of the Weast India. Translated out of the Castlin tongue by I[ohn] F[rampton]*. London, 1578.

This is the first English translation of a Spanish guide to Caribbean ports (Martín Fernandez de Enciso. *Suma de geographia*. Seville, 1519). It was issued, the introduction says, to give Englishmen the practical navigation information needed to challenge Spanish authority.

While Hawkins's ill-treatment at San Juan de Ulloa provided an excuse for retaliation, the 1585 seizure of English shipping in peninsular Spanish ports was the final breach of good relations. With this latter episode began the age of the Elizabethan

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sea rover epitomized by Sir Francis Drake. Justice-seeking and, after 1585, recompense, were returning themes in England's justification of her attacks on Spain's New World empire.

14. *Sir Francis Drake revived ...* London, 1626.

Drake's first actual raid on the Spanish Main took place in 1572. Its stated purpose was revenge for San Juan de Ulloa. From a financial standpoint, the expedition was a resounding success. The capture of a treasure-laden mule train outside Nombre de Dios paid back investors and made Drake a rich man. But this expedition, and all his later ones, was beset with problems--by accident of timing, cities yielded no ransom, cornered prey eluded his grasp, and treasure slipped through his fingers. Drake, however, had imagination and style and these were the traits that elevated him to the status of hero. This is the first published account of Drake's 1572-73 expedition.

In 1577 Drake embarked on a voyage to sack Panama. This goal was not accomplished, but the capture of the Spanish treasure ship *Cacafuego* amply repaid the backers and Drake returned home in 1580 after having circumnavigated the globe. Although the Panama objective had of necessity been abandoned, Drake had won on another front by sailing unscathed through Spanish waters and demonstrating that the Spanish empire was ill-protected and vulnerable.

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15. Baptista Boazio. *The Famouse West Indian voyadge made by the English fleete*. London, 1589.

In 1585 Drake set out to seize the cities of Santo Domingo and Cartagena. From there, he intended to proceed to Panama, and then on to the silver mines of Honduras. This foray was a financial disaster--nothing worked out as anticipated. It was, however, significant in two respects. First, unlike Drake's earlier expeditions, this one had the official support of Queen Elizabeth and was England's first national assault on the Spanish Main. Additionally, it had great propaganda value; for although the attack had been unsuccessful, rumors spread through Europe that the reverse was true. The Bank of Seville went bankrupt, the Bank of Venice faltered, and the House of Fugger, which circulated a newsletter to financiers, spread fear among European banking houses.

This map by Baptista Boazio traces Drake's route from the Cape Verde Islands to Santo Domingo, Cartagena, and St. Augustine. On the way home the English fleet stopped at Virginia to check on English colonists put ashore ten months before.

CASE 4

Dutch Merchants

Very early, the Dutch collided with Spanish authority over salt, a necessity for the northern herring industry, which was plentiful in natural beds along the coast of Venezuela. The Dutch were persistent interlopers, and the Spanish were consistently frustrated in their efforts at

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control--so much so that Spain seriously considered flooding the salt plains.

16. Hugo Grotius. *Mare liberum*. [Leyden, 1609].

"Free Sea" was an eloquent rebuttal to the Spanish/Portuguese thesis of a *mare clausum* (closed sea). Although history has shown that Dutch pleadings for unrestricted trade among nations was an ideal not followed once their own trade monopolies were established, this book challenged Spanish supremacy in the Caribbean and Portuguese supremacy in the Indian Ocean. Grotius, usually considered the father of international law, was employed by the Dutch East India Company. The Dutch West India Company was founded later in 1621.

Courtesy of the John Hay Library.

Spain and the Netherlands were at war between 1572 and 1648 (the 80 Years' War), with an intermission (the 12 Years' Truce) between 1609 and 1621. Although Spain was weary of conflict in the Low Countries, the truce never became an official peace because of Spain's refusal to accede to Dutch demands for formal trading and settlement rights in the West Indies. As the truce drew to a close, Spain realized that the Dutch intended to renew the conflict and sent orders that all Caribbean garrisons be reinforced and that the fortresses of San Juan de Puerto Rico, Santo Domingo, Santiago de Cuba, and Havana be strengthened.

17. [Arnoldus Montanus] *Die Unbekante Neue Welt*, ... Amsterdam, 1673.

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The town of Bahia, Brazil.

While their "Great Design" to attack Spanish possessions simultaneously in Europe, Africa, and America never materialized, the Dutch made many plans. In terms of trade potential, Africa, Brazil, and the Caribbean were perceived as a unit and the Dutch intended to capture Sao Salvador de Bahia de Todos os Santos (Bahia) to provide a base for attacks on the Spanish in the Caribbean. The Dutch did capture Bahia in 1624, but the Spanish retook the city in 1625.

18. Piet Heyn. *Beschreibung von Eroberung der Spanischen Silber Flotta*. Amsterdam, 1628.

The high point of the Dutch challenge to Spanish authority was Piet Heyn's bloodless capture of the combined Spanish plate fleet at Havana in 1628--the only time this feat was ever accomplished.

Commemorative medals were struck, eulogies were written, and illustrated broadsides were issued in celebration. Poetry flowed abundantly and the event remained a source of inspiration for nineteenth-century popular songs. References to Heyn's seventeenth-century victory still figure in Dutch cheers at soccer games today.

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19. *Practiicke van den Spaenschen Aes-Sack:*
... Gravenhage, 1629.

A poem in praise of Piet Heyn and his achievement.

21. Joost van den Vondel. *Op Het Ontset Piet Heyns buyt het West-Injes-Huys spreekt.*
[Amsterdam, ca.1629].

Piet Heyn's crew felt that the Dutch West India Company had denied them a fair share of the booty, and demonstrations were staged at Company headquarters. The author of this poem describes the trouble caused by the arrival of the Spanish treasure in Amsterdam.

CASE 5

Life of the Buccaneers

Hispaniola was the first island to be settled by the Spanish and remained the cultural and administrative center of their New World empire throughout the sixteenth century. While the large islands to the north--Cuba, Puerto Rico, and Jamaica--drew some colonists, the Lesser Antilles to the south were largely ignored by Spain and were gradually taken over by the French, the Dutch, and the English. These island settlements were cause for concern, but outside of an occasional foray, there was not much that Spain could do on an organized basis.

The small island outposts in the south were, at best, only marginally viable and scores of defeated colonists, failed planters, and discharged and runaway servants from

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all nations gravitated north to the thinly populated Spanish islands where resources were more abundant. The non-Spaniards who established themselves on the large islands of the Caribbean enjoyed a thriving trade provisioning the ships of French, English, and Dutch privateers. When they were not hunting game or engaging in illicit trade, they raided Spanish shipping themselves.

21. Theodor DeBry. [*Great Voyages-Latin, Part 2*] Frankfurt, 1591.

These bands of men were called buccaneers, from the Arawak Indian word, buccan, meaning a grill of green wood on which meat was smoked over a slow fire.

22. Alexandre Olivier Exquemelin. *Histoire des Aventuriers*. Trévoux, 1744.

Buccaneers hunting turtle.

23. Alexandre Olivier Exquemelin. *Histoire des Aventuriers*. Paris, 1688.

Buccaneers hunted the wild cattle that had multiplied unchecked since the mid-sixteenth century when large numbers of Spaniards abandoned their island plantations to search for treasure in Peru and Mexico. These men were superb marksmen, an advantage when they joined together to harrass Spanish shipping.

In the illustration above, a pipe-smoking buccaneer pauses before his village on his return from a hunt. The dogs flushed wild pigs and cattle

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from the underbrush, making them easy targets for the hunter.

24. Alexandre Olivier Exquemelin. *Histoire des Aventuriers*. Paris, 1713.

Headquarters for many buccaneers was Tortuga, an island off the coast of Hispaniola. Planting on a small scale was possible, the harbor was excellent, and the island was strategically placed for easy access to Spanish shipping routes.

25. Jean-Baptiste du Tertre. *Histoire Générale des Antilles*. Paris, 1667.

In the 1630's Jean Le Vasseur, a Huguenot, established himself as the leader of the buccaneer settlement on Tortuga. A military engineer by profession, he built Fort de Rocher on top of a mountain of solid rock. The fort fell only once--in 1654 the Spaniards dragged cannon up the mountain and breached the walls.

Le Vasseur, the "pirate king," was known for his ever-escalating greed. When a Spanish prize-ship yielded a silver Madonna and Catholic Frenchmen on St. Kitts asked to have it for their church, he sent them a wooden copy saying they were doubtless too spiritual to notice the difference. A modern note: the character of the evil pirate that Errol Flynn fought in the movie *Captain Blood* was based upon Le Vasseur.

CASE 6

Dissenting Views

It would be a mistake to give the impression that Spain did not strike back, often with success, at her predators. The coast guard (*guarda costa*) and the armada that escorted the plate fleet were very effective considering the vast area of the Caribbean and Spain's chronic shortage of manpower. In reality, the buccaneers, pirates, and privateers whose successful exploits were celebrated in print suffered many defeats for each proclaimed victory.

26. *Verdadera Relacion del Viage, y suceso de los caravelones, galeoncetes de la guarda de Cartagena de las Indias, y su costa. Y la grandiosa vitoria que antenido contra los cossarios piratas en aquel mar.* Seville, 1621.

A celebration of Spanish victory against Caribbean pirates.

27. Randall Mainwaring. *The case of Mainwaring, Hawes, Payne and others, concerning a depredation made by the Spanish West-India fleete, upon the ship Elizabeth.* [London, 1646].

This English case states that the ship *Elizabeth*, on a trading voyage to Virginia, was surprised and taken by "eleven sayle of the Spanish West India Fleet, ... in the yeare 1637 ... whereof four were Galeons of the Kings, the rest merchants ships, who shared the [English] goods

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among them and barbarously treated the Mariners and Passengers, and carryed the sayd ship into Spaine, and there detainee her unto this day."

28. Henry Pitman. *A relation of the great sufferings and strange adventures of Henry Pitman.* London, 1689.

No matter how offensive pirate deeds were to society, sensational tales about their adventures found a wide audience. Although many of the accounts cast buccaneers as heroes, others, like this account by Henry Pitman, detail the experiences of "innocent" men cast by circumstance into the company of unsavory outlaws.

While the buccaneers and privateers that harassed imperial Spain in the Caribbean were often admired (by non-Spaniards), pirates who preyed indiscriminately aroused the indignation of all. But their exploits were exciting, and when they were captured and brought to justice their trials were news. These accounts found a place in an established genre of popular literature that could be loosely described as "true tales and dying confessions." The stories had wide appeal and the Ordinary of Newgate Prison made a fortune peddling "last words" to eager publishers.

29. *The Grand Pyrate: Or, the life and death of Capt. George Cusack the great sea robber.* London, 1676.

Cusack, an Irishman originally destined for the priesthood, changed his vocation to piracy. He preyed upon Caribbean shipping and disposed of

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his booty in New England. He was finally captured in the Thames estuary and tried in London. This work tells the pirate's story and gives an account of the trial of Cusack and seven of his crew at Old Bailey in January, 1675. All agreed that Cusack argued eloquently (if not successfully) in his own behalf.

In 1697 France signed the Treaty of Ryswick, making peace with Spain, England, and Holland. Spain recognized the French possession of St. Domingue and did not dispute the existence of other French, Dutch, and English colonies in the Americas. In return, all three pledged to help Spain suppress piracy in the Caribbean. This treaty, and the Treaty of Utrecht signed in 1713, signalled the end of the "golden age" of piracy in the Spanish lake.

30. *An act for the more effectual suppression of piracy.* London, 1700.

This parliamentary act was crucially important in defeating piracy. It gave vice-admiralty courts in North America and the West Indies the authority to try cases themselves rather than sending the accused back to England.

CASES 7 AND 8

Best sellers

31. Alexandre Olivier Exquemelin. *De americaensche zee-rovers.* Amsterdam, 1678.

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Although this is the most important sourcebook on seventeenth-century piracy, little is known about its author. Exquemelin, a native of Harfleur, was born about 1645. In 1666 he went to Tortuga in the employ of the French West India Company, where he enlisted with the buccaneers as a barber-surgeon, remaining with them until 1674. He returned to Europe and settled in Holland, possibly because he was a Huguenot. He later went back to the Caribbean, and his name appears on the muster-rolls as a surgeon in Pointis's attack on Cartagena in 1697.

Exquemelin was (and still is) good reading: the book is illustrated and full of blood and gore. At least twenty major editions appeared in Dutch, German, Spanish, English, and French between 1678 and 1800. The John Carter Brown Library has over half of these, plus a number of "piracies" and condensations. This is one of many instances where a collection of editions is invaluable to the researcher; an examination of the variations in these publications sheds light on the subtle (and not-so-subtle) propaganda value of the text.

The introductions are especially revealing, for they place the stories in a historical and international context. The publication dates tell a story as well. New editions appeared in times of conflict, serving as a reminder of past glories and as a rallying cry for positive action against present adversity.

32. Alexandre Olivier Exquemelin. *Piratas de la America ...* Cologne, 1681.

Three Spanish editions, translated from the Dutch, were published in Cologne in 1681, 1682, and 1684. That they were sent directly to Spain

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might seem odd considering the tradition of censorship there and the fact that the tales were not, by any stretch of the imagination, pro-Spanish. The dedication, however, clarifies this seeming contradiction. The book is presented as instructional: the more Spain knows about her enemies, the better able she will be to defeat them.

33. Alexandre Olivier Exquemelin. *Bucaniers of America* ... London, 1684.

The English edition was translated from the Spanish edition. In the introduction the Spanish are presented as brave and worthy opponents. To cast doubt upon their courage would cast doubt upon the heroic, near-superhuman acts of the (English) buccaneers, as well.

34. Alexandre Olivier Exquemelin. *Histoire des Aventuriers* ... Paris, 1686. 2 vol.

The French edition was based upon the Dutch edition but was greatly altered and enlarged to focus upon Le Vasseur and the French buccaneers on Tortuga. (See case 5)

35. [Philip Ayres] *The voyages and adventures of Capt. Barth. Sharp and others* ... London, 1684.

This is the rare first edition of Ayres's publication describing the celebrated voyage of the English buccaneers under Bartholomew Sharp. It was issued as a response to Exquemelin because Ayres felt that only an Englishman could report the exploits of English buccaneers fairly.

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36. Alexandre Olivier Exquemelin. *The History of the bucaniers of America ... the fourth edition.* London, 1741.

The War of Jenkins' Ear was the name popularly given to the conflict between Spain and Great Britain that broke out in 1739 and became merged with the War of the Austrian Succession. During this period a flurry of re-editions of Exquemelin were published in English and French.

37. William Dampier. *New Voyage Around the World.* London, 1697.

William Dampier was an English buccaneer and circumnavigator. The account of his voyage around the world was filled with exciting detail of incredible riches in faraway places. It was published at a time when the major European powers were financially drained by constant warfare and when many solutions to the problem of national debt focused upon the investment potential of overseas empire.

Dampier's tales captured the public imagination. Three English editions appeared in 1677, and the Library possesses more than twenty others published before 1800.

38. Woodes Rogers. *A Cruising voyage round the World ... begun in 1708 and finished in 1711 ... an account of Alexander Selkirk's living alone four years and four months in an island.* London, 1712.

39. Daniel Defoe. *The Life and Strange Surprizing Adventures of Robinson Crusoe ... The*

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fourth edition. London, 1719.

Woodes Rogers had Dampier with him on this celebrated privateering voyage of circumnavigation, which included the rescue of Alexander Selkirk (prototype of Defoe's Robinson Crusoe) from the island of Juan Fernandez in 1709. Defoe's *Crusoe* was so popular that it sold three thousand copies at five shillings apiece in less than four months.

There is little to support the belief that Captain Johnson was either a pirate himself or the contemporary dramatist of the same name who wrote the tragi-comedy *The Successful Pyrate*. On the other hand, considerable evidence suggests that Johnson may well have been a "nom de plume" used by Daniel Defoe. That he was accurate, even to the smallest detail, has been repeatedly proved. The "History of the Pyrates" was very popular--a large number of later editions were published, many in bowdlerized form. Parts of it were incorporated in the "History of the Highwaymen," first issued in 1734.

40. Charles Johnson. *A General History of the Robberies and Murders of the most notorious Pyrates* ... London, 1724.

Although the pirate, Captain Teach, is especially memorable for his marital excesses (he had fourteen wives, mostly concurrent), his beard was the remarkable physical characteristic that gave him the nickname, Blackbeard.

"This Beard was black, which he suffered to grow of an extravagant length; as to Breadth, it came up to his Eyes; he was accustomed to twist it with Ribbons, in small Tails, turn them about his Ears. He wore a Fur-Cap, and stuck a lighted

Match on each Side, under it, which appearing on each side his Face, his Eyes naturally looking Fierce and Wild, made him altogether such a Figure, that Imagination cannot form an Idea of a Fury, from Hell, to look more frightfull."

41. Charles Johnson. *A General History of the Lives and Adventures of the Most Famous Highwaymen ... To which is added, A Genuine Account of the Voyages and Plunders of the Most Notorious Pyrates.* London, 1736.

Henry Morgan was one of the most celebrated of all the buccaneers. Jamaica-based, his ravages extended over the Spanish coasts of the Caribbean. Morgan pillaged Cuba and took Porto Bello in 1668 and Maracaibo in 1669. In 1670 he crossed the isthmus and sacked and burned the city of Panama. Later he returned to England where he was knighted by Charles II and made a commissioner of the admiralty. He then returned to Jamaica, this time as lieutenant-governor and commander-in-chief.

Sedentary life, however, did not suit him and he turned to drinking and carousing. In 1682 he was relieved as lieutenant-governor and in 1683 he was ousted from membership in Jamaica's governing council for his "passions and irregularities." He died in 1688 at the age of fifty-three.

CASE 9

Captured Information

42. William Hack. *An Accurate Description of all the Harbours ... in the South Sea of America.* Manuscript atlas [ca. 1698].

The Spanish kept detailed surveys of their possessions in the New World. These maps, gathered together in manuscript volumes known as *derroteros*, were carefully guarded documents.

In 1682 Captain Bartholomew Sharpe returned from a privateering voyage along the coast of South America. One of his prizes was a *derrotero* captured as it was about to be thrown overboard by the Spanish captain. Charles II ordered the maps translated and they were copied and translated by the mapmaker William Hack. Although a printed version was never published, Hack's workshop produced a number of copies over the next twenty years and provided the English with more accurate descriptions of Spanish settlements in South America than had been available before.

CASE 10

Drake Revived

Although the articles of the Treaties of Ryswick and Utrecht spelled the downfall of buccaneers in the Caribbean, memories of Drake's sixteenth-century exploits were a rallying point for English national pride in times of conflict.

Twice in the eighteenth century British seamen achieved victories over Spain that recalled the earlier triumphs of Elizabethan sea rovers. In 1748 Captain George Anson captured the Manila Galleon and in 1762 Albemarle trapped the Spanish fleet, laden with bullion, at Havana. While these were acts of war and not the individual depredations of a sea rover, the audacity of the achievements recalled feats of earlier days.

43. Richard Walter. *A Voyage Round the World, ... By George Anson ...* London, 1748.

In 1740 Anson commanded a squadron of six ships sent to the Pacific. Of these, two were driven back by storms, one was lost, and two others were scrapped because they were unseaworthy. In the remaining vessel, the *Centurion*, Anson nearly destroyed the commerce of Spanish settlements along the coast of South America by blockading ports and sacking towns. Proceeding across the Pacific, he captured the Manila Galleon [June 20, 1743] on its way to Acapulco. The value of this prize totalled the modern equivalent of over two million dollars.

44. *An Authentic Journal of the Siege of the Havana. By an Officer ...* London, 1762.

Although English squadrons had threatened Havana several times, it was not until 1762 that a military action by Admiral Pocock and the earl of Albemarle was successful. The siege lasted from June to August and the British wrung great sums from the church and the city. At the close of the Seven Years' War, Havana was restored to Spain in exchange for the Floridas.

Waves in the Lake

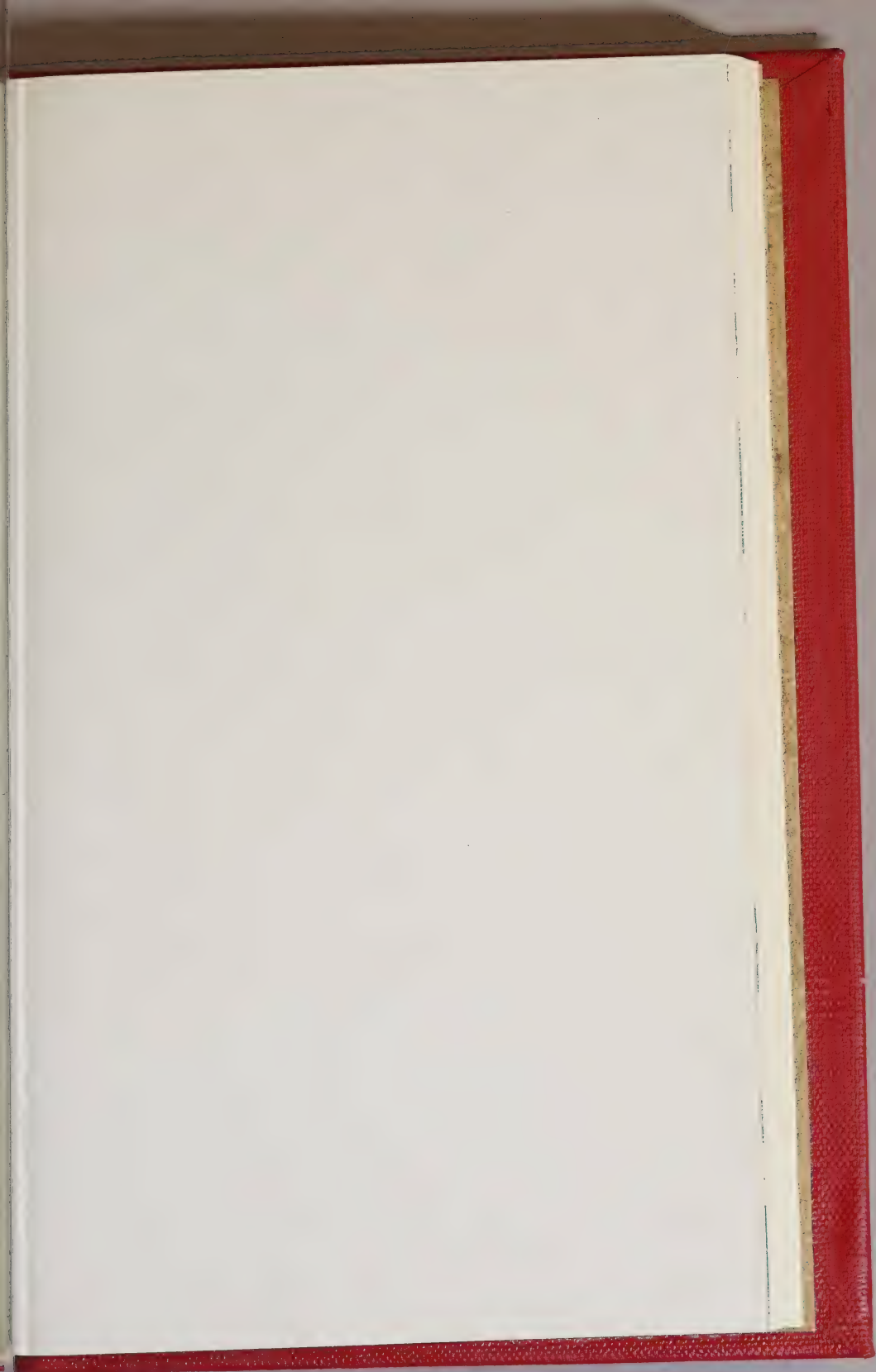
44. Thomas Davies. *A Plan of the Havana*
1762. Manuscript.

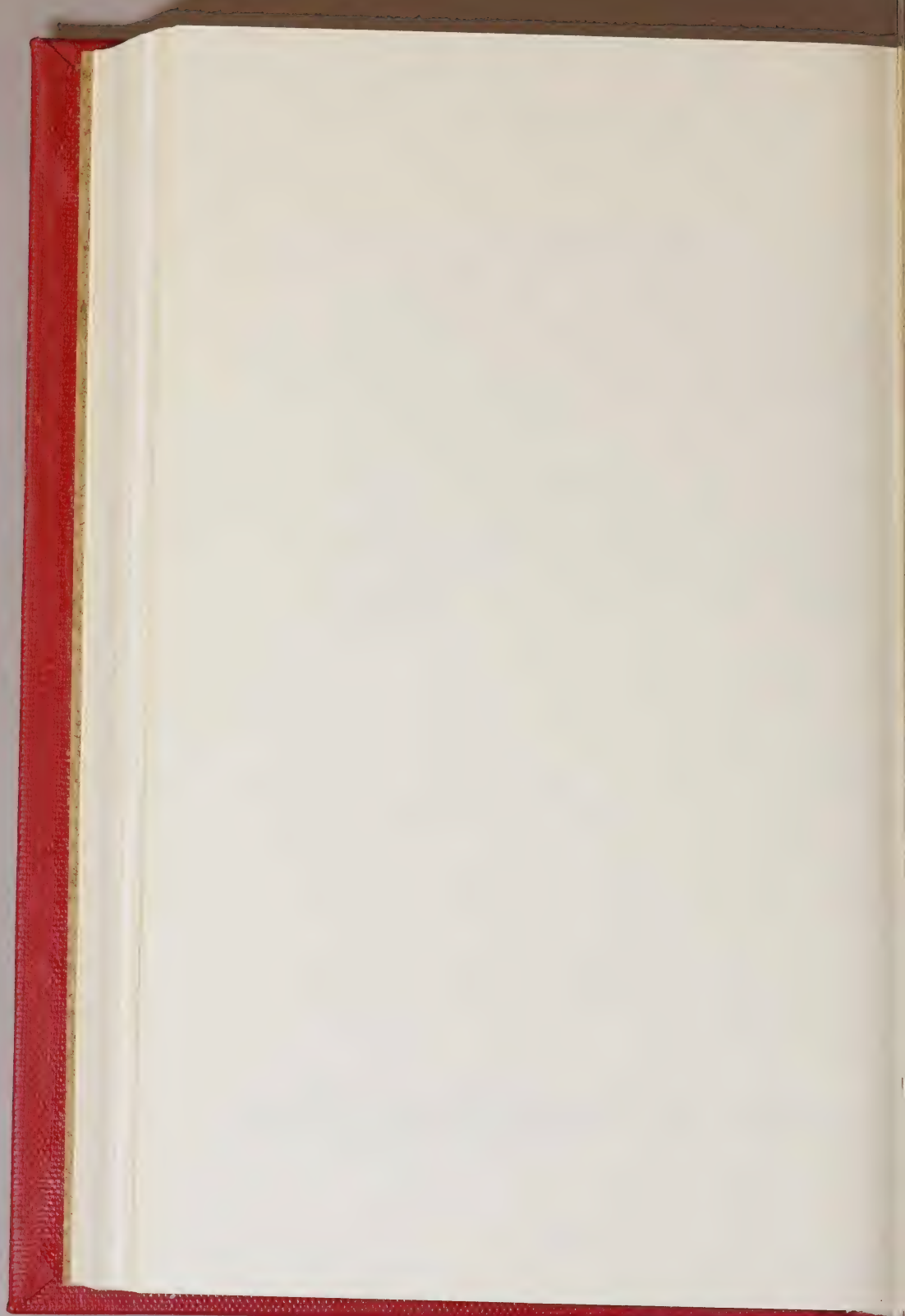
Waves in the Lake

Acknowledgement

The idea for this exhibition grew out of conversations with John Carter Brown Library Associate Gustavo A. Tavares [Brown '50] and his son, Juan Tomás Tavares [Brown '75]. Gustavo Tavares is a founder of the Sociedad Dominicana de Bibliófilos, an organization whose mission is the preservation of the rich heritage of the island of Santo Domingo, now Haiti and the Dominican Republic. To accomplish this goal the Society supports a museum, a reference library, and a program of scholarly and popular publications. On many occasions, the John Carter Brown Library has served as a resource for the Society's programs.

Cover illustration from Alexandre Olivier Exquemelin's
Histoire des Aventuriers Flibustiers.













WOMEN AND A WILD NEW WORLD

An Exhibition at the John Carter Brown Library

January 15 to April 30, 1986

Prepared by Ilse E. Kramer

Providence, Rhode Island
1986

Cover illustration from a Sceene of sceenes. Extract of a
letter from a merchant in Boston.

NATIVES

ANACÁONA, d. ca. 1503.

Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés. *Coronica de las Indias*. Salamanca, [1547].

Anacáona was a native of Santo Domingo and the ruler of her tribe. Although her husband was killed by the Spaniards she received the brother of Christopher Columbus with great hospitality and advised her people to submit to the Spaniards. In 1503 she was hanged by Governor Nicolás de Ovando and his forces.

POCAHANTAS, d. 1617.

John Smith. *The generall historie of Virginia, New-England*. London, 1624.

Pocahantas, whose real name was Matoaka, was one of the daughters of Chief Powhatan. She allegedly saved the life of Captain John Smith who had been captured by her father. Pocahantas fell into the hands of the English, was baptized and took the Christian name of Rebecca. She married John Rolfe and accompanied him to London where she was received like a princess. While still in England she suddenly took ill and died.

AWASHONKS.

Benjamin Church. *Entertaining passages relating to Philip's War*. Boston, 1716.

Another Indian woman, Awashonks, was caught between her desire to remain at peace with the English and the demands of King Philip that she enter into confederacy with his tribe. Eventually her tribe was detached from Philip's cause and took part in the expedition under Colonel Benjamin Church that terminated the war.

INDIAN WOMAN, ACTING AS MIDWIFE.

Jonathan Carver. Travels through the interior parts of North America. London, 1778.

This is the story of an Indian woman in Maine who saved the life of an English lady by acting according to somewhat unusual and unorthodox medical knowledge, which is described here in the text. The lady, wife of an English soldier, was having a difficult delivery and the doctor and midwife had considered her beyond hope. The Indian woman who happened to be passing by helped her to deliver in a very short while.

VIRGINIA DARE, b. 1587.

John White. Narrative of his voyage. (In: Richard Hakluyt. Principall navigations. London, 1589.)

Virginia Dare was the first English subject born in America. Governor John White, Virginia's grandfather, started a colony on Roanoke Island, which is now known as the "Lost Colony." In his *Narrative*, White recounts how he returned to England for supplies and was unable to return to Virginia for several years. By then all of the colonists had either perished or been absorbed by Indian tribes. Governor White could find no trace of Virginia Dare.

MARY LEWIS KINNAN, 1763-1848.

Kinnan, Mary Lewis. A true narrative of the suffering of Mary Kinnan. Elizabethtown (New Jersey), 1795.

Mary Kinnan was taken by the Shawnees from her Virginia home in 1791 and, after having been sold into several tribes, was rescued by her brother near Detroit in 1794. This narrative is said to have been taken down, and "improved" by Shepard Kollock, the printer.

Mary remarks that "One of the principal objects of my attention, whilst I lived among the Indians, was the humiliating condition of their women. Here the female sex, instead of polishing and improving the rough manners of the men, are equally ferocious, cruel, and obdurate. Instead of that benevolent disposition and warm sensibility to the sufferings of others, which marks their characters in more civilized climes, they quaff with extatic pleasure the blood of the innocent prisoner ...".

This copy has the book plate of Frank Cutter Deering (1866-1938). Deering was a collector of Americana from Maine. The Library possesses several books with his ownership mark. For the most part Deering's collection was acquired by the Newberry Library.

UNCA ELIZA WINKFIELD.

The female American ... Unca Eliza Winkfield.
Newburyport, [ca. 1800].

Unca Eliza Winkfield is a pseudonym and the book contains a fictitious account of the Indian captivity of the heroine's father in 1618, and his marriage to an Indian princess. The statement has been made that it was written

to satirize an old Virginia family with a slightly different name [i.e., Wingfield]. The following dialogue between Unca Eliza's parents before their marriage, reflects a view, sentimental in tone, of an Indian captivity; "'What,' cried she, 'does not my Winka,' so she called him, 'love me?' My father caught her in his arms; 'Yes, my Unca,' cried he, 'I do.'"

LUDEE, WIFE OF ABBA THULLE.

George Keate. An account of the Pelew Islands. London, 1788.

Ludee was much admired by Captain Henry Wilson of the East India Company's Marines. The "Antelope," commanded by Captain Wilson, was shipwrecked in 1783 near the Pelew Islands. Wilson and his men were well treated by King Abba Thulle and his wives, among whom Ludee was the most outstandingly beautiful.

ALLEGORICAL AND FICTITIOUS WOMEN; IMAGES & SHRINES

AMERICA PERSONIFIED.

John Gabriel Stedman. Narrative, of a five years' expedition against the revolted negroes of Surinam. London, 1796.

In this engraving by William Blake, America is shown as one of three continents each symbolized by a young woman (remindful of the three graces), all exhibiting great

beauty and attractiveness.

GOODY TWO SHOES.

The History of little Goody Twoshoes. Worcester, 1787.

Little Goody Two Shoes is the principal character in a nursery tale. She, having owned only one shoe, is so pleased at finally having a pair that she shows them to everyone, exclaiming "Two Shoes." Goody Two Shoes reflects a goody-goody image of women which became extremely popular in America. Between 1775 and 1815, at least twenty-two editions were issued in America. The edition shown here is one of the earliest.

COLUMBIA, PERSONIFICATION OF AMERICA.

Columbia, trading with all the world. [ca. 1789].

Columbia was frequently used as a poetical name and feminine personification of America or the United States. It was taken from the name of Christopher Columbus.

VIRGIN MARY (NUESTRA SEÑORA DE GUADALUPE).

José Francisco Campomanes. Guadalupanae. Virgini. Christiani. Populi. Honori. Americanae. Gentis. Puebla de los Angeles, 1810.

The shrine of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe (three miles north-east of Mexico City) has been visited by pilgrims since 1531, when the Virgin Mary is said to have appeared

to Juan Diego, a neophyte. Bishop Zumárraga, when told of the Virgin's wish to have a church built in her honor, remained doubtful of her appearance until a picture representing the Immaculate Conception, impressed on Juan Diego's cloak, became visible.

Displayed here is an invitation (printed on silk, with the picture of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe at the head of the title) to attend the public defense of the thesis of José Francisco Campomanes.

MERMAIDS.

Vincenzo Cartari. *Imagini delli dei de gl'antichi*. Venice, 1647.

Giovanni Antonio Cavazzi. *Istorica descrittione de tre regni Congo, Matamba, et Angola*. Milan, 1690.

In narratives of ocean voyages the mention of mermaids is not at all rare. The phenomenon has been explained by the encounter of seafaring men with a now extinct sea creature which had a somewhat human appearance, evoking fantasies in the minds of men confined to monotonous and dreary lives on board ship. Pictorial representation of mermaids range from fabulous creatures with pleasing features to ugly sea monsters. Illustrations often show crowned, winged, even two-tailed mermaids, most of them highly decorative.

WOMEN IN RELIGION

ROSA, OF LIMA, SAINT, 1586-1617.

Leonhard Hansen. Vida admirable, y muerte preciosa, de la venerable Madre Soror Rosa de Santa María Peruana, en Lima. Valencia, 1665.

Rosa of Lima is the first American-born saint. She was a Dominican of the Third Order who lived the life of an ascetic. She used to wear an iron chain around her waist and a metal spiked crown on her head, concealed by roses. Leonhard Hansen's Latin biography of Rosa of Lima became very popular and was translated into four different languages.

MARÍA DE JESÚS DE AGREDA, 1602-1665.

María de Jesús de Agreda. Redondez de la tierra, y de los abitadores de ella.

La Venerable Madre María de Agreda spent most of her life in the Convento de la Inmaculada Concepción, founded by her parents in Agreda, Spain. While in this convent, she wrote her most famous work, *La Mística Ciudad de Dios* and corresponded for twenty-two years with Felipe IV of Spain. She purportedly made hundreds of mystical appearances in the New World to convert Indians of New Mexico.

This manuscript (ca. 1650) describes different regions of the world. Chapter 4 contains a mystical description of America.

MARÍA DE JESÚS DE AGREDA, 1662-1665.

Ximénez Samaniego, José. *Prólogo, y relación de la vida de la Venerable Madre Sor María de Jesús de Agreda*. Madrid, 1712.

This biography of María de Jesús de Agreda uses selections from her autobiographical spiritual writings to inspire emulation among the devout. The author gives basic biographical data on Madre Agreda, but dwells on enumerating her heroic virtues and miracles.

MARÍA DE SAN JOSEPH, MOTHER, 1656-1719.

María de San Joseph. [Spiritual autobiography. Oaxaca, ca. 1700-1716].

Sor María was a founder of the Augustinian Recollect convents of Santa Mónica (Puebla) and La Soledad (Oaxaca). At La Soledad she was entrusted with the position of instructor of novices. At the behest of various confessors, including Bishops Fernández de Santa Cruz and Angel de Maldonado, she wrote extensively about her struggles with family and clergy to enter the convent and the inner world of the cloister.

This volume (ca. 1705-1708) focuses on her religious experiences and visions. On the displayed page, Sor María invokes the help of Santa Teresa de Jesús.

MARÍA DE SAN JOSEPH, MOTHER, 1656-1719.

Maldonado, Angel, 1660-1728. Ssmo. Patri Excelso In Verbo Glorise, Benedicto XIII. Pontifici Maximo. [Puebla de los Angeles? ca. 1726].

As Bishop of Oaxaca, Angel Maldonado wrote this tract to Pope Benedict XIII, proposing the beatification of María de San Joseph. Maldonado outlines her saintly life and cites miracles that occurred upon her death. There were no further proceedings towards her canonization.

MARIE DE L'INCARNATION, 1599-1672.

[Claude Martin] La vie de la Venerable Mere Marie de l'Incarnation. Paris, 1677.

Marie de l'Incarnation is the founder of the Ursuline order in New France. She was born in Tours and even as a child revealed a character which was inclined toward the mystical as well as the practical. She married young and was left a widow two years later. In 1633 she took her vows as an Ursuline nun, and in 1639 left for Quebec. In the New World her activities were many and varied. She proved herself as a farmer, businesswoman, and teacher, learned Indian languages, and established a boarding school for young girls, both French and Indian. Marie de l'Incarnation's biography was written by her son, Claude Martin, a Benedictine Father.

ANNE (MARBURY) HUTCHINSON, 1590?-1643.

[Samuel Groome] A glass for the people of New-England. [London], 1676.

Anne Hutchinson was born in England where she raised a family of fourteen children. She emigrated to Massachusetts in 1634, where, soon after, she was labeled an antinomian. Expounding a belief in a covenant of grace as opposed to a covenant of works resulted in her excommunication from the Boston Church in 1637 and banishment into exile. She went to live in Rhode Island and soon after her husband's death in 1642 moved to Long Island. Shortly thereafter she and all but one of her children were killed by the Indians.

ANN LEE, 1736-1784.

Hannah Adams. An alphabetical compendium of the various sects. Boston, 1784.

Mother Ann Lee is the founder of the Shakers in America. She became a member of the sect of the Shaking Quakers in Manchester, England in 1758. She began "speaking with tongues" and preaching fervently against marriage. In 1774 she and her family went to New York and joined a group of relatives living near Albany. Eventually Mother Ann was imprisoned for high treason; because the Shakers preached against war and would not bear arms, they were accused of pro-British sympathies.

CATHERINE PHILLIPS, 1726-1794.

Catherine Phillips. Memoirs. London, 1797.

Catherine Phillips was a Quaker who went on annual preaching tours. In 1753 she sailed from London to Charlestown and travelled extensively in the Carolinas and in New England.

WOMEN OF POWER

ISABEL I, LA CATOLICA, QUEEN OF SPAIN,
1451-1504.

Libro en q̃ estã copiladas algunas bullas. [Salamanca,
1503?]

Queen Isabel I, married to Ferdinand of Aragon, was a strong supporter of Christopher Columbus. A law, promulgated in 1497, deals with the sending of convicted criminals to Hispaniola, Admiral Columbus having asked for people to settle the colony and work in the mines.

ELIZABETH I, QUEEN OF GREAT BRITAIN, 1533-1603.

[Richard Day] A booke of Christian prayers. London, 1578.
(Commonly known as Queen Elizabeth's prayer book.)

Under Queen Elizabeth's commission, Sir Francis Drake commanded an expedition to the West Indies. Sir Walter Raleigh was granted a charter concerning the colonization of Virginia, named after the "Virgin Queen" Elizabeth.

CARLOTA JOAQUINA, CONSORT OF JOAO VI, KING
OF PORTUGAL, 1775-1830.

Carlota Joaquina. Copia de la carta dirigida al Excmo. Sr.
D. Santiago Liniers y Bremond. Buenos Aires, 1808.

Carlota Joaquina was the daughter of Carlos IV, King of Spain, and the sister of Ferdinand VII of Spain. She continually conspired against her husband João VI, was temporarily banished, and toward the end of her life was shut up in a convent. At the time of the Napoleonic invasion of Portugal she fled with the royal family to Brazil, where she stayed from 1807-1821. Carlota considered herself heir to Fernando's realms in America and aspired to establish control over the Plata basin.

MARTHA WASHINGTON, 1731-1802.

Message from the President of the United States, transmitting an original letter from Mrs. Washington ... 8th January, 1800. [Philadelphia, 1800].

This pamphlet contains the correspondence between President Adams and Mrs. Washington concerning "The Resolution Of Congress, Requesting Her Assent To The Interment Of The Remains Of General Washington, In The Capital".

Mrs. Washington writes: "I must consent to the request made by Congress; and, in doing this I need not, I cannot say, what a sacrifice of individual feeling I make to a sense of public duty".

In the turn of events both President and Mrs. Washington were buried at Mount Vernon, and, although two crypts were built in the basement of the center of the Capitol, they were never used.

MARINA, ca. 1505 - ca. 1530.

Bernal Diaz del Castillo. *Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España*. Madrid, [1632].

Doña Marina, also known as "La Malinche," was an Aztec woman. She served as an interpreter to the Spaniards and was the mistress of Hernando Cortés, to whom she bore several children.

CHARLOTTE GABRIELLE ELISABETH AGLAE (DE PUGET DE BARBANTANE), COMTESSE DE HUNOLSTEIN, ca. 1755 - ca. 1795.

Marie Joseph Paul Yves Roch Gilbert du Motier, marquis de Lafayette. [To Aglaé] Chavaniac, ce 27 mars 1783.

Ms. bound with [Poupart de Beaubourg, Jean-Baptiste] *Le triomphe du beau sexe, ou épitre de M. de Mquis de La Fayette*. Boston, 1778.

Aglaé's indifference toward Lafayette is said to have been one of the reasons which determined his going to America. Aglaé was beautiful and bright, and Lafayette pursued her for six years; he enjoyed her favor for only one year. On the whole, their amourette seems to have been a passing and superficial interlude.

MILITANT WOMEN

ELIZABETH CANNING, 1734-1773.

A Sceene of sceenes. Extract of a letter from a merchant in Boston. [London], 1755.

"Betty" Canning was an English servant girl who, in 1753, vanished for four weeks and claimed to have been abducted and urged to "lead an immoral life". One of the people she accused was Mary Squires, an old gypsy of surpassing ugliness. Mary received a death sentence. However, during a second trial Elizabeth was accused of perjury and ordered into exile in America, where she is said to have married a man named Treat.

The case aroused great public interest, and innumerable pamphlets were published, among them one by Henry Fielding, the novelist.

The broadside shown reports a vision in which Elizabeth Canning is instructed to follow the example of Jeanne d'Arc against the French in the Ohio Valley.

AMAZONS.

[Claude Marie Guyon] Geschichte derer Amazonen. Berlin, 1763.

The fable of the tribe of female warriors said to have existed in South America is based on an Indian myth. The Amazons formed a state, devoted to war and hunting, from which men were excluded.

FRIEDERIKE CHARLOTTE LUISE (VON MASSOW)
FREIFRAU VON RIEDESEL, 1746-1808.

Friederike Charlotte Luise Freifrau von Riedesel. Die
Berufs-Reise nach America. Berlin, 1800.

Freifrau von Riedesel was the wife of a German soldier. Facing danger and deprivation with great courage, she accompanied her husband to America and took her children with her. After the capitulation of General Burgoyne in Saratoga, her husband was held prisoner by the colonists for three years. The family returned to Germany in 1783.

CATHERINE (SAWBRIDGE) MACAULAY, 1731-1791.

Catherine Macaulay. An address to the people of England, Ireland and Scotland, on the present important crisis of affairs. London, [1775].

Catherine Macaulay was a writer, historian, and controversialist. She is most famous for her *History of England*. She visited Paris and met Benjamin Franklin there. She was at times celebrated and admired and at other times attacked in satirical pamphlets. In 1784 she traveled to America and while here paid a visit to President Washington.

The pamphlet shown here relates to the American revolution and reveals Catherine Macaulay's pro-American feelings. There is a New York edition of the same year.

PROFESSIONAL WOMEN

VIRGINIA FERRAR, 1626-1688.

Virginia Ferrar. A mapp of Virginia discovered to ye hills ... [London] John Goddard sculp: Domina Virginia Farrer collegit, 1651. (No. 22 in the Blathwayt Atlas, [London, ca. 1683]).

The Ferrars, a family of cartographers, lived in the religious community of Little Gidding, Huntingdonshire. The "Virgin Lady Virginia" was the daughter of John Ferrar and the niece of Nicholas Ferrar. The family was at one time connected with the London Virginia Company. Virginia is known not only for her achievements in cartography but also for her interest in the culture of silkworms. The map shown here also exists in four other states, two of which do not have Virginia's name on them.

SARAH KEMBLE KNIGHT, 1666-1727.

Sarah Kemble Knight. The journals of Madam Knight. New York, 1825.

"Madam Knight" had a remarkable knowledge of legal procedure. She was employed in connection with the recording of court records and other public documents. Most of her life was spent in Boston where she kept a writing school which Benjamin Franklin is said to have attended. Shown here is her *Journal* describing a trip made from Boston to New York. This journey was most unusual in that, unlike many women of her time, she travelled alone. From 1715 on she resided in Connecticut where she dealt in real estate.

HANNAH WEBSTER FOSTER, 1759-1840.

Foster, Hannah Webster. The boarding school. Boston, 1798.

Mrs. Foster was the daughter of a Boston merchant of standing and the wife of a popular clergyman of Brighton, Mass. As a young girl she had a local reputation for cleverness as well as beauty. In 1797 she published a book, which soon was absent from few homes where any reading was done. "The Coquette; or, The history of Eliza Wharton" purports to be a novel founded on fact. In 1798 Mrs. Foster published "The Boarding school; or Lessons of a preceptress to her pupils". A certain Mrs. Williams is the fictional preceptress of a very select boarding school admitting only seven pupils at a time. Mrs. Williams strove "to convince [the young ladies] of the utter insignificance and uselessness of that part of the sex , who are

Bred only and completed to the taste
Of lustful appetite; to sing, to dance,
To dress, and troll the tongue, and roll
the eye."

This copy is inscribed, 1818, by Miss Martha S. Gore, probably a relative of Christopher Gore, governor of Massachusetts.

MARÍA FRANCISCA GONZAGA DEL CASTILLO.

María Francisca Gonzaga del Castillo. Ephemeris calculada al meridiano de Mexico, para el año de el Señor de 1757. Mexico, [1756].

Little is known about María Gonzaga del Castillo, a mathematician. She lived in Mexico during the second half

of the 18th century and compiled astronomical almanacs.

PAULA BENAVIDES CALDERON, d. 1684.

Chanzonetas, que se cantaron en la Santa Yglesia Cathedral de Mexico, en los maytines del gloriosissimo principe de la iglesia el Señor San Pedro. Mexico, Por la viuda de Bernardo Calderon, [1660].

Another Mexican, the Señora Calderón, was in the printing business, and her name appears in the imprint of a great number of sermons, lives of saints, and books dealing with Indian linguistics. She was the widow of Bernardo Calderón, who died in 1639. Actually, it was their son Antonio, then nine years old, who not only took over the business but made it flourish more than it had during his father's time.

SARAH UPDIKE GODDARD, ca. 1700-1770.

David Sherman Rowland. Divine providence illustrated and improved. Providence, Sarah Updike Goddard, [1766].

Sarah Goddard, mother of William Goddard, ran her son's printing shop in Providence for him from approximately 1765 to 1768. She acted as printer, editor, publisher, bookseller, and postmistress. *The Providence Gazette* was one of their publications. In 1767 Sarah Goddard established a partnership with John Carter, another Providence printer and publisher.

OUTCASTS

THE WOMEN OF THE ISLE OF PINES: PHILLIPPA, AN AFRICAN SLAVE, SARAH ENGLISH, MARY SPARKES, ELIZABETH TREVOR.

Henry Neville. *The Isle of Pines*. London, 1668.

This piece of fiction purports to be the true story of an Englishman, George Pine, and four women who, in the year 1569, on their way to the East Indies, were shipwrecked and cast up on an uninhabited island. Their descendents were supposedly discovered in 1667 by a (fictitious) Dutch captain, and said to number ten or twelve thousand. It has been suggested that the title contains an anagram. This story, accepted by many as fact, proved an immediate and international success and was followed in the same year by *A New and Further Discovery of the Isle of Pines*, which described the history and customs of the island's inhabitants. This hoax was a possible source for Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*.

MARY READ AND ANNE BONNY.

[Daniel Defoe] *A general history of the pyrates*. London, 1726.

Mary Read and Anne Bonny were English pirates sailing to the West Indies. They dressed and behaved like men and only revealed their identity to each other and to the several men they fell in love with. They both were tried and sentenced to death. Mary Read was not executed because she was found to be pregnant. However, she died of a fever shortly thereafter. Anne Bonny was granted a reprieve.

Nothing is known about her fate afterward.

BRIDGET BISHOP.

Cotton Mather. The wonders of the invisible world. Boston, 1693 [i.e., 1692].

Bridget Bishop, one of the women tried for witchcraft at Salem in 1692, was accused of making rag dolls and sticking pins in them, and of pinching, choking and biting people. She also was accused of making babies die in their cradles, and of bewitching pigs.

MARGARET RULE.

Robert Calef. More wonders of the invisible world. London, 1700.

Margaret Rule was a woman possessed by demons and subject to levitations. Reportedly her body frequently floated up to the ceiling and was impossible to hold down.

WOMEN IN THE ARTS

ANNE (DUDLEY) BRADSTREET, 1612?-1672.

Anne Bradstreet. The tenth muse lately sprung up in America. London, 1650.

Women

Anne Bradstreet came to Massachusetts when she was eighteen years old. She was the first English woman in America to publish a book of poems. Her poetry dealt largely with natural philosophy, physics, and human nature.

APHRA (AMIS) BEHN, 1640-1689.

Aphra Behn. *Oronoko*. The Hague, 1745.

Aphra Behn is considered the first female writer in England to support herself by writing. As a young girl she was brought up in Surinam. She returned to England in 1658, married and became a widow eight years later. During the Dutch War, Charles II sent her to Antwerp to act as his spy and worm political secrets out of her suitors. Back in London she spent the rest of her life as a dramatist and novelist. She is the author of *Oronoko*, a novel inspired by her memories of her friendship with an Indian chief in Surinam.

JUANA INÉS DE LA CRUZ, SISTER, 1651-1695.

Juana Inés de la Cruz. *Fama, y obras posthumas del Fenix de Mexico*. Madrid, 1700.

Sor Juana, noted for her extraordinary intelligence, was a Mexican nun and celebrated poet. She was honored with the title of "The Tenth Muse" and had published poetry before her death.

The displayed selection, "Respuesta a Sor Filotea de Santa Cruz", is a letter to the Bishop of Puebla, Fernández de Santa Cruz, defending women's rights to intellectual freedom. An outstanding piece of feminist writing for its

time, it reveals the work of a gifted intellectual.

PHILLIS WHEATLEY, 1753?-1784.

Phillis Wheatley. Poems on various subjects. London, 1773.

Phillis Wheatley was brought to Boston from Africa, when she was eight years old. She began writing poetry at age thirteen. She was taken to England for health reasons and achieved great popularity there. She was freed and married a free negro.

MICAELA VILLEGAS, 1748-1819 ("La Perricholi")

Don Manuel de Amat y Junient ... Por quanto el Señor Conde de las Torres ... [Lima, 1762].

La Perricholi was a Peruvian actress and the mistress of Viceroy Amat y Junient. In 1776 an anonymous play was published in Lima satirizing her relationship with the Viceroy. La Perricholi was immortalized in modern times by Prosper Merimée, Jacques Offenbach and Thornton Wilder.

LYDIA BYAM.

[Lydia Byam] A collection of exotics, from the Island of Antigua. [London, 1797].

Lydia Byam was not a botanist but a society lady who liked to paint for her own pleasure. A contemporary critic

Women

remarked that "they [the plates] shew that the leisure hours and the attention of this lady are better employed than they often are by the dissipated part of her sex."

HANNAH ADAMS, 1755-1831.

Hannah Adams. A summary history of New-England. Dedham, 1799.

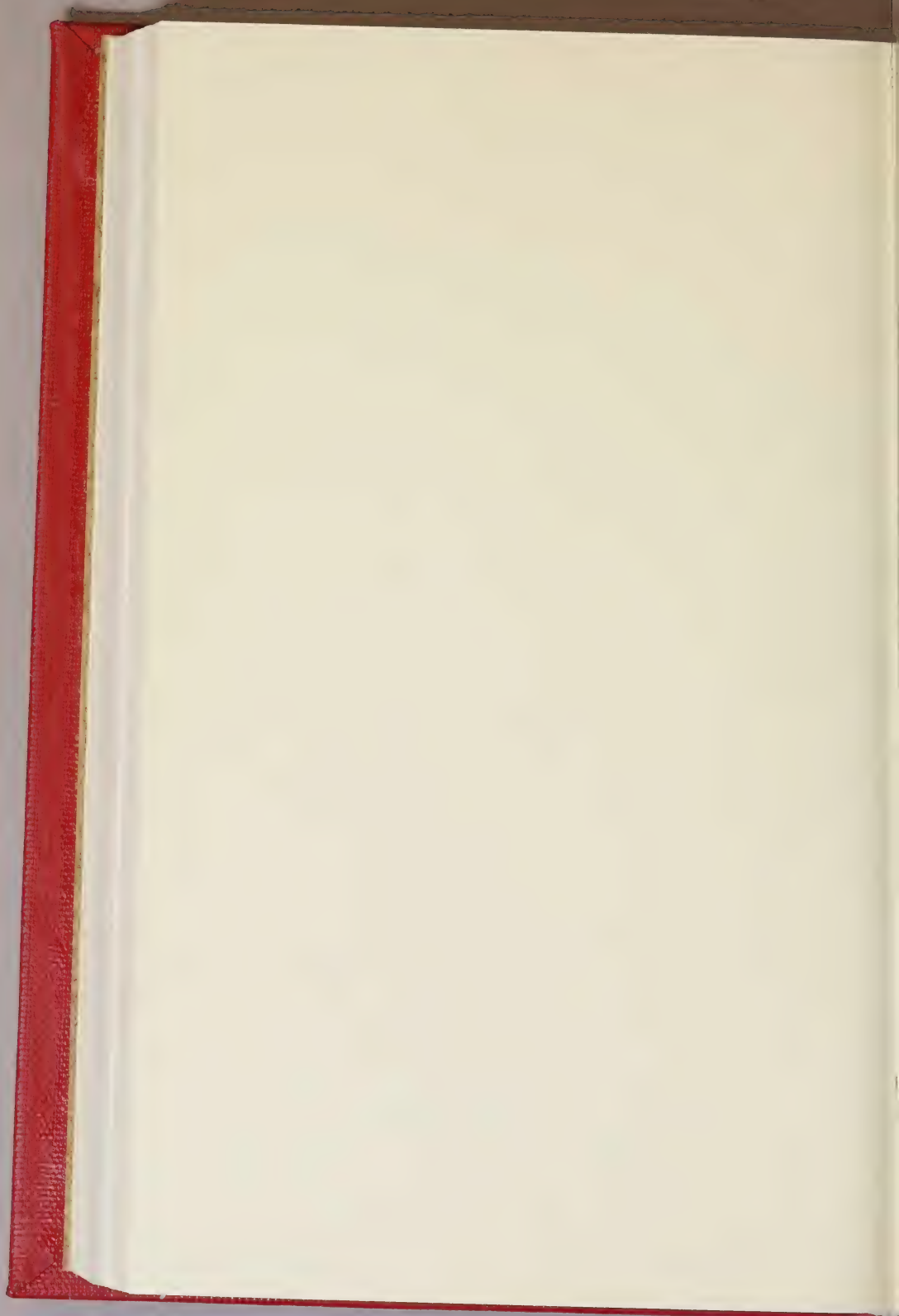
Hannah Adams was probably the first professional woman writer in America. She was for the most part a compiler of historical information. She is said to have had a frail constitution and been ridiculously absent-minded.

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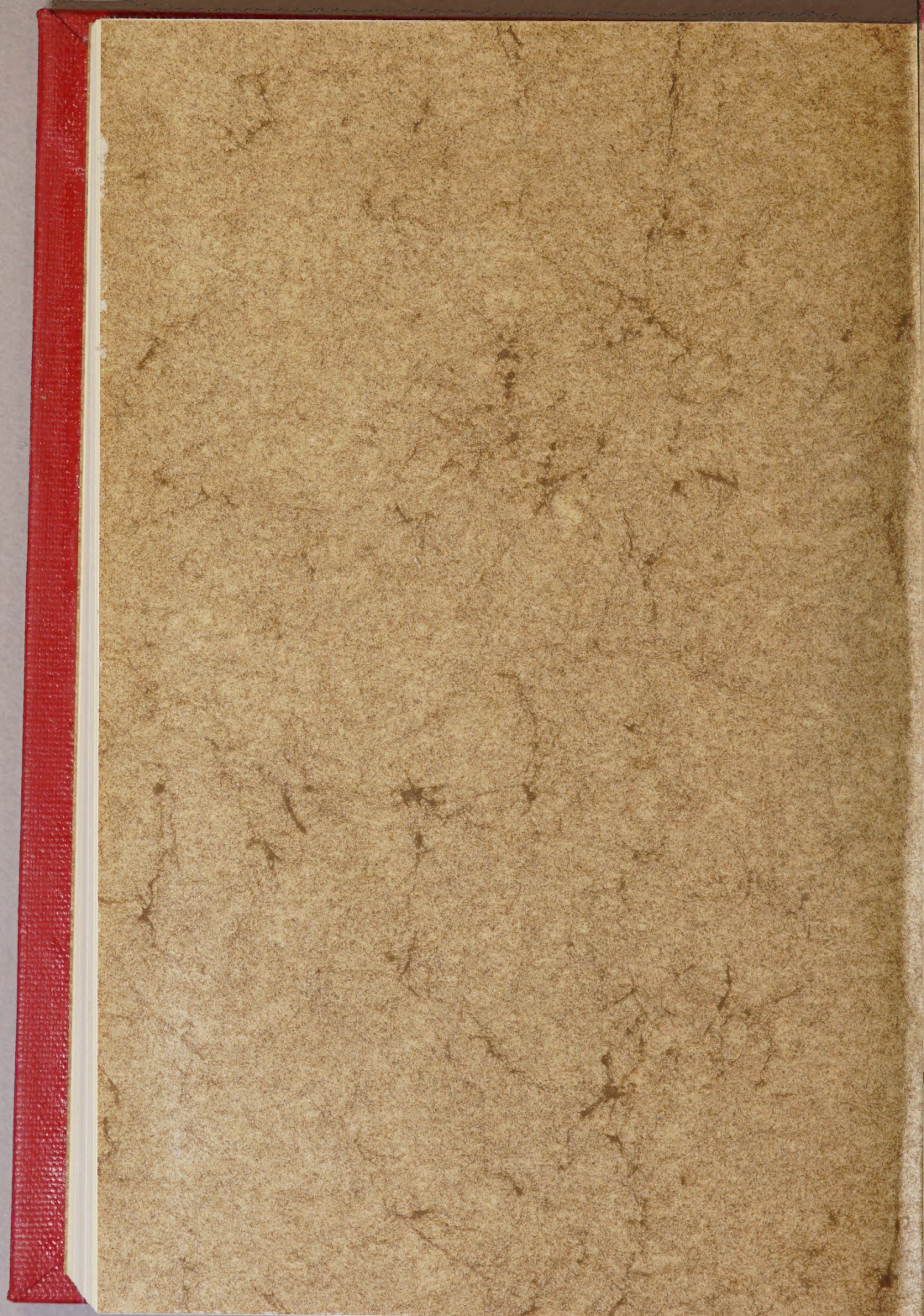
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